

## SENATE—Monday, February 14, 1983

The Senate met at 12 noon and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. THURMOND).

## PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Richard C. Halverson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Let us pray.

*It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord, to sing praises unto thy name O most high; to show forth thy loving-kindness in the morning, and thy faithfulness every night.—Psalm 92: 1, 2.*

Almighty God, the destiny of the people of America rests with those who work in this place. If Members of Congress fail, the people lose their representation and advocacy. The Senate of the United States has incredible power to bless and to curse, to heal and to destroy this Nation, and, for that matter, the world. May the Senators never forget this awesome responsibility, and may they be saved from every selfish and corrupt force within them and without that would cause them to perjure truth and prostitute their power and bring to calamitous proportions the crises which threaten us.

Cleanse them from every perversion of position and power; purify their motives, their intentions, their ambitions, and make them the wise, courageous, selfless, dedicated public servants that these desperate days demand and the people have a right to expect. For Thy glory and the public good, we pray in the name of the Utterly Selfless Servant, Jesus Christ. Amen.

## RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader is recognized.

Mr. BAKER. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, I have two requests to make, and I ask the minority leader if he objects to these requests.

## THE JOURNAL

Mr. BAKER. First, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CALL OF THE CALENDAR  
WAIVED

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, when we adjourned over for the Lincoln Day recess certain provisions were made. However, I believe we did not provide

that the call of the calendar would be waived; is that correct?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. That is correct.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I now ask unanimous consent that the call of the calendar be waived.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

## A VALENTINE'S DAY POEM

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I will be perfectly predictable and select this week's poem in honor of St. Valentine's Day. It is entitled "Love," and was written by Roy Croft.

Today, love still has that unique ability to endure and survive all that threatens it: East or West, rich or poor, prejudice or not.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that "Love" be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## LOVE

I love you,  
Not only for what you are,  
But for what I am  
When I am with you.

I love you,  
Not only for what  
You have made of yourself,  
But for what  
You are making of me.

I love you  
For the part of me  
That you bring out;  
I love you  
For putting your hand  
Into my heaped-up heart  
And passing over  
All the foolish, weak things  
That you can't help  
Dimly seeing there,  
And for drawing out  
Into the light  
All the beautiful belongings  
That no one else had looked  
Quite far enough to find.

I love you because you  
Are helping me to make  
Of the lumber of my life  
Not a tavern  
But a temple;  
Out of the works  
Of my every day  
Not a reproach  
But a song.

I love you  
Because you have done  
More than any creed  
Could have done  
To make me good,  
And more than any fate  
Could have done  
To make me happy.  
You have done it  
Without a touch,  
Without a word,

Without a sign.  
You have done it  
By being yourself.  
Perhaps that is what  
Being a friend means,  
After all.

—ROY CROFT

## ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, time for a period for the transaction of routine morning business has already been ordered, I believe, is that correct?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Thirty minutes, with a five-minute time limitation for each Senator.

Mr. BAKER. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, after the recognition of the two leaders under the standing order, there will then be a period for the transaction of routine morning business, as the Chair has just described.

## SENATE SCHEDULE

## NOMINATIONS

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, before we adjourned on February 3, I indicated that it was my hope that today the Senate could go into executive session for the purpose of considering nominations on the executive calendar, and I believe at that time I specifically identified the nominations of Richard T. McCormack to be an Assistant Secretary of State, and Richard R. Burt to be an Assistant Secretary of State.

I wish to advise all Senators who are interested that it will be my intention today to ask the Senate to go into executive session for the purpose of considering those nominations.

It may be that there will be objection to that. If there is, Senators should be aware that the leadership plans to move to the consideration of those nominations.

It is not the intention of the leadership to ask for either of those nominations to be concluded today. If rollcall votes are to be required or if there is to be a rollcall vote on the motion to proceed, then we will debate that as necessary and put the vote over until tomorrow.

It would be my hope, however, that we could recess the Senate today with one of these nominations as the pending business, and return to executive session tomorrow to complete it.

## TREATIES

Mr. President, in addition to that, sometime this week I hope we can reach Calendar Order No. 1 on today's executive calendar, the Montreal Protocols Nos. 3 and 4 and, perhaps, Cal-

endar Order No. 2, the Constitution of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, which has been reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations. I will not attempt to reach those today, however.

#### ADDITIONAL NOMINATIONS

Mr. President, there are certain other nominations on the executive calendar under the African Development Bank, the U.S. International Development Cooperation Agency, and nominations placed on the Secretary's desk in the Foreign Service.

It is my hope that we can dispatch the entire executive calendar this week, and Senators should be on notice of that possibility.

#### TELEVISION IN THE SENATE

Mr. President, TV in the Senate is a matter I have mentioned often. It will be my hope that we can get to that item this week or at least this week in advance of the time when other and compelling executive and legislative matters will require the attention of the Senate.

It is my hope as well that we can work out some sort of an arrangement on that matter that will accommodate the concerns of many Senators, and, I believe, accommodate the wishes of many others who would like to see this project go forth on some basis.

I see my friend, the distinguished Senator from Louisiana, in the Chamber. I will repeat to him what I said earlier on the telephone, and that is I will not move on this matter or attempt to until he and I and the distinguished minority leader have had an opportunity to compare notes, but in any event not before Wednesday.

Mr. President, what I have described may very well now produce a busy week for the Senate this week, that is to say, the nominations, the treaties on the Executive Calendar, as well as TV in the Senate, if we can reach that, and I hope we can.

#### POSSIBLE SENATE PROGRAM NEXT WEEK

Mr. President, next week it is entirely possible there will be a number of other items we can get to, but one in particular I will call to the attention of the Senators, and that is the possibility that we will reach a shipping bill to be reported from the Commerce Committee some time next week, perhaps as early as Tuesday of next week.

I understand that is a controversial item and one that in the past has produced an extensive debate. Perhaps it is not so controversial now that certain adjustments have been made, as I understand may be the case. So that no Senator may be taken by surprise, let me now say that there is a distinct possibility that a week from tomorrow we may be able to reach a shipping bill to be reported from the Commerce Committee.

#### THE LEGISLATIVE CALENDAR

Mr. President, there is nothing on the Calendar of General Orders today.

I am advised that there is a star print of that calendar, which, indeed, I have just been handed by our athletic Parliamentarian, who rushed from the podium to hand it to me. There are four items, all resolutions, being Calendar Order Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8. I would like to do those today if we can clear them today. I have not examined them, however. I would ask my friend, the minority leader, if he would advise me some time during the day if he could clear those items for action by unanimous consent.

Mr. BYRD. Our athletic Parliamentarian did not stop by my desk to show me what the majority leader is talking about.

Mr. BAKER. I will share the work product of our athletic Parliamentarian. Indeed, I will give that to the minority leader.

Mr. President, in addition, we have resolutions and motions under the rule and bills and joint resolutions read for the first time, but otherwise the calendar is clear.

Mr. President, I have indicated at the beginning of this session that I hoped that the beginning weeks, the early weeks of this session, would be busy weeks and that we could as much as possible. I am trying very hard to clear business as it comes to the calendar and as promptly as possible. I will continue to do that as the Senate will permit me to do so.

I fully understand, for example, that the calling up of Executive nominations today may inconvenience certain Senators, but it is absolutely essential that we get on with the business of the Senate, without undue concern for particular personal situations. Therefore, I do intend to go forward with these nominations today.

As I said, I will not try to complete them if record votes are required, but I do intend to try to get to them. I am afraid that that is an indication of a darker side of my personality for this session, because I do plan to press as hard as I can to make these early weeks of the session productive. In doing so, we may step on a few eggshells.

#### THE RECURRING DESTRUCTION OF PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I have one other remark I would like to make that is part serious and part in jest. I call the attention of my colleagues to the fact that I am convinced that I have discovered a new Washington phenomenon, perhaps unsuspected, but it may have ramifications beyond that which any of us have ever dreamed before.

I am speaking of the recurring destruction of Pennsylvania Avenue. What I mean by that, as I drive down that avenue, as I often do, either going downtown or to the White House or an agency or department or to go home, periodically I watch as patient Washingtonians see the right-hand lane going west torn up and then we see the left-hand lane going west torn up, and as they repair one side or another they dig it up again. I have seen that happen now, I believe, through three cycles of tearing it up and putting it back.

I have a theory that I have evolved and developed, and that is at some point a crew was assigned the responsibility and dispatched to tear up Pennsylvania Avenue and nobody ever gave them a stop order and, unless something is done, they will continue forever to tear up Pennsylvania Avenue and put it back.

If there was ever a case of bureaucracy out of control, surely that must be it.

I call on the executive department, the GSA, or the GAO, or whoever does this sort of thing, to see if, indeed, there is not a bull—not a bull elephant, but a bull crew—at work that is totally out of control and no doubt has been forgotten by their superiors and will go on for the rest of our lives tearing up Pennsylvania Avenue and putting it back. If, indeed, they can be brought back under control, then perhaps Pennsylvania Avenue will be restored to its grandeur as envisioned by the original Architect of the Capitol and as we have known to appreciate it over our careers.

I call on the President to give immediate attention to this important and urgent matter for the benefit of the Republic.

Mr. President, I have no further need for my time. If I have any time remaining, I yield it to the minority leader.

Mr. BYRD. I thank the distinguished majority leader.

#### RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GORTON). The minority leader is recognized.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed as in morning business because I want to introduce a resolution to be referred to the Rules Committee. I also want to introduce a resolution and ask for its immediate consideration and I expect an objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Senate will proceed as in morning business.



# PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF RULE XV OF THE STANDING RULES OF THE SENATE

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution which would amend rule XV of the Standing Rules of the Senate. It deals with the question of germaneness and also with the question of an appeal to the Chair of a decision of the Presiding Officer on the question of germaneness of an amendment. I should like to have it stated by the clerk, the title of it, at least, and then I will ask unanimous consent that it be considered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will read the resolution.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 63) to amend rule XV of the Standing Rules of the Senate.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the resolution be dispensed with, and I ask for its immediate consideration.

Mr. BAKER addressed the Chair.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I will not tie those two requests together.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the request that further reading of the resolution be dispensed with is agreed to.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, reserving the right to object to the second request, as the minority leader knows, I have considerable sympathy for the objectives he seeks in this resolution. Therefore, the objection I am about to put does not imply any judgment on the merits of the resolution itself but rather to prepare the way for the orderly consideration of this matter.

Mr. President, on that basis, I object to the immediate consideration of the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard. The resolution will go over under the rule.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I send to the desk a duplicate copy of the resolution and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD and, of course, that it be appropriately referred.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## S. Res. 63

Resolved, That Rule XV of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended—

(1) by inserting after "Motions" in the caption a semicolon and the following: "GERMANENESS";

(2) by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"6. (a) At any time during the consideration of a bill or resolution, it shall twice be in order during a calendar day to move that no amendment, other than the reported committee amendments, which is not germane or relevant to the subject matter of the bill or resolution, or to the subject

matter of an amendment proposed by the committee which reported the bill or resolution, shall thereafter be in order. The motion shall be privileged and shall be decided after one hour of debate, to be equally divided and controlled by the Majority Leader and the Minority Leader or their designees.

"(b) If a motion made under subparagraph (a) is agreed to by an affirmative vote of three-fifths of the Senators present and voting, then any floor amendment not already agreed to (except amendments proposed by the committee which reported the bill or resolution) which is not germane or relevant to the subject matter of the bill or resolution, or the subject matter of an amendment proposed by the committee which reported the bill or resolution, shall not be in order.

"(c) When a motion made under subparagraph (a) has been agreed to as provided in subparagraph (b) with respect to a bill or resolution, points of order with respect to questions of germaneness or relevancy of amendments shall be decided without debate, except that the Presiding Officer may entertain debate for his own guidance prior to ruling on the point of order. Appeals from the decision of the Presiding Officer on such points of order shall be decided without debate.

"(d) Whenever an appeal is taken from a decision of the Presiding Officers on the question of germaneness of an amendment, or whenever the Presiding Officers submits the question of germaneness or relevancy of an amendment to the Senate, the vote necessary to overturn the decision of the Presiding Officers or hold the amendment germane or relevant shall be two-thirds of the Senators present and voting, a quorum being present."

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished majority leader.

## CREATING JOBS

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial appearing in today's Washington Post, entitled "Creating Jobs." I think the editorial raises important questions and makes important observations and I would like it to be included in the RECORD for the study of Senators.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 14, 1983]

### CREATING JOBS

Congressional Democrats are looking with interest at a \$4.3 billion job offer from the White House. Their leaders were right to agree to deal with the administration on a relief package that has some chance of quick passage. Demands for a much larger program may be good for Democratic electioneering, but they won't do anything for the jobless workers who need help right now. But the Democrats should also look closely at the details of the administration's proposals before deciding that the package is a good deal.

One component of the package should be noncontroversial. That is the provision of humanitarian aid—food and shelter—to the homeless and destitute. The only concern in this regard should be that provision is made

for getting the aid out quickly to the areas where it is needed most.

The job-creating parts will require closer scrutiny. What is known about the proposals thus far suggests that the administration is considering accelerating some federal construction projects and adding money to block grants made to cities for community development projects. Whether this makes sense or not depends crucially on the answers to some questions.

Are the projects the kind that can be started up quickly? States are already struggling to step up highway construction under the gas-tax-highway-repair legislation passed in December. That's not easy to do—especially in areas with severe winter weather, which also tend to be those with the worst long-term unemployment.

Will the money produce a significant number of jobs or will most of it go for equipment, supplies and high-wage costs? What will ensure that the jobs go to the long-term unemployed—especially those with families to support—rather than to new labor market entrants or people who can expect to find jobs relatively soon?

Is this new money or just faster spending of money already in the budget? If the latter, what happens when the money runs out?

Will the money go where it is needed? The location of federal construction projects is determined by the type of project (you don't need a dam in a desert or irrigation project in the industrial Midwest) and by the ability of congressmen to steer money to their districts. It would be a remarkable coincidence if that pattern happened to coincide with the distribution of long-term unemployment.

Community development block grants are broadly distributed among cities. But some cities have a less severe unemployment problem than relatively rural areas such as the iron-mining range of Minnesota or the small steel towns of the Ohio valley. HUD has also weakened federal control over the uses of these funds so that it will be difficult to be sure that cities don't just use the new money for things they would have done anyway.

Supporting jobs legislation may make both Congress and the administration feel good. But unless the proposal offers good answers to these questions, it may not do much to warm the hearts of the unemployed.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, if no Senator seeks time, I yield back the remainder of my time.

## ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There will now be a period for the transaction of routine morning business.

## GUARANTEE OF THE RIGHT TO LIFE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report Senate Joint Resolution 8 to be read a second time.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution (S.J. Res. 8) to amend the Constitution of the United States to guarantee the right to life.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I object to further proceedings on the joint resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be placed on the calendar.

#### PROTECTION OF THE RIGHT TO LIFE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the next joint resolution.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 9) to amend the Constitution of the United States to protect the right to life.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I object to further proceedings on the joint resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be placed on the calendar.

#### PROVIDING LEGAL PROTECTION FOR UNBORN HUMAN BEINGS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the next bill.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 26) to provide legal protection for unborn human beings, and for other purposes.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I think I should say, by way of explanation, that what we are doing here, as those who follow the RECORD will understand, is going through an orderly procedure prescribed by one of the standing rules of the Senate for placing a resolution on the calendar. The objection that I am lodging is for the purpose of advancing that in an orderly way and does not represent a statement of position on the merits of the controversy by this Senator or any other Senator.

With that explanation, Mr. President, once again I object to further proceedings on this matter.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection having been heard, the bill will be placed on the calendar.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. the clerk will call the roll.

The Assistant Secretary of the Senate proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, we are in the morning business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We are.

#### CREDIT SECRETARY OF STATE SHULTZ FOR SPEAKING OUT AGAINST NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, on February 4 the Washington Post reported the unusual news that the usually conciliatory, calm and composed Secretary of State Shultz had dressed down a group of American businessmen in China.

If there is anybody as unflappable as I have seen in recent years around here, it is George Shultz. It must take a lot to get his dander up.

To the Secretary's credit he minced no words in reading the riot act to American business leaders who complained about our export policy in restraining the sale of nuclear equipment and materials to the People's Republic of China. Well, Mr. President, here is one Democratic Senator who says, "Right on, George, good for you!"

The Post article points out that the Chinese have been interested in selling nuclear equipment and/or material in turn to Pakistan which, like China, shows no interest in subscribing to the nuclear nonproliferation pact.

Mr. President, I cannot tell you how reassuring it is to see this Secretary of State make his position and that of the administration so dramatically clear, and under such difficult and—for Mr. Shultz—such painful circumstances, as to have to dress down American businessmen in a foreign country.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an excerpt from that article in the February 4 Washington Post be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The secretary of state was particularly upset by suggestions that a policy change is required in the nuclear export field to permit U.S. firms to compete effectively to build Chinese nuclear power plants.

Pointing out that U.S. regulations are based on concern about the spread of atomic weapons, Shultz said that "the problem of proliferation is a distinct problem and I think the question suggests in a rather cavalier fashion that you brush it off. I don't brush it off."

The Chinese, who exploded their first atomic bomb in 1964 and who have built a considerable arsenal of nuclear weapons, have refused to sign the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty or to provide guarantees that they will not assist non-nuclear states with bomb technology.

U.S. intelligence is reported to have obtained information that China is assisting Pakistan's nuclear weapons program, and Shultz is believed to be taking up this issue with the Chinese in his talks. In a banquet toast Wednesday night, he went out of his way to refer to this general issue, saying that "the dangers of nuclear war and nuclear proliferation concern people everywhere and must be among the foremost concerns of their leaders."

#### OUR RESPONSE TO THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, when the members of a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group witness the death and destruction of more than one-sixth of their countrymen, what can they do to respond? What can they say? Where should they turn? And if they turned to us, Mr. President, what would we tell them?

In December 1975, Indonesian troops invaded the island of East Timor. Since that time, over 100,000 Timorese have perished. The Indonesian rule on the island has been characterized by fear and accusations of torture, murder, rape, and widespread abuse of the Timorese.

The Timorese have done what they can to protest and fight back. Nationalist guerrillas have banded together in an attempt to stop the merciless killings. However, those civilians who protest disappear. Others are interrogated or imprisoned and forced to recant. Relatives of the guerrillas are held hostage on Atauro Island in a so-called rehabilitation center. There, entire families, including children, are ravaged by disease and hunger before Red Cross relief is allowed. These findings are supported by clergymen, civilian officials, and aid organizations, but the Indonesians coldly deny them all.

Still there are many brave ones among the Timorese. On January 16, 1983, for the first time in 4 years, the guerrillas made contact with the outside world. Documents were smuggled out of East Timor, which has been almost totally sealed off from outside scrutiny.

These documents carry an urgent message. They call to us to be brave, to speak out against these genocidal killings, and to show the people of East Timor they have not been forgotten. This can be done by ratifying the Genocide Convention. I strongly believe, Mr. President, that the efforts of the Timorese to reach us with their story require such a response. Let us not allow these cries of help to fall upon deaf ears.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The Assistant Secretary of the Senate proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### EXTENSION OF TIME FOR THE TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I think the time allocated for the transaction



of routine morning business under the order previously entered is probably not adequate. I believe there are other Senators who wish to speak or transact business appropriate to this period who have not yet been able to reach the Capitol in some cases, but more in others.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the time for the transaction of routine morning business be extended until 1:30 p.m. in which Senators may speak for not more than 10 minutes each.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The Assistant Secretary of the Senate proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WILSON). Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### PERMANENT FIX?

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, there is a distinguished editor and publisher in North Carolina whose newspaper career has been devoted to nondaily newspapers. His name is H. Clifton Blue, and he is known across our State for his wisdom and his dedication to the free enterprise system.

Cliff Blue's influence goes far beyond his role as a newspaperman. For many years he served in the North Carolina House of Representatives, and as speaker of the house. Some years ago, I anticipated that Cliff might one day serve in Congress, but apparently he had no interest in that, which I suppose shows his perspicacity.

In any event, Cliff Blue and I do not belong to the same political party, but I hold him in the highest respect and regard him as a close personal friend.

In early February, Cliff Blue commented on the recommendations proposed by the so-called blue ribbon Social Security Reform Commission. He recalled that less than 6 years ago, President Carter proposed, and Congress approved, the largest tax increase in history to bail out the Social Security System. President Carter described the tax increase as a "permanent fix" for social security. But here we are, in 1983, with yet another crisis on our hands.

Mr. President, Cliff Blue is a man of few words, but I think he hit the nail on the head in his comment on social security. I ask unanimous consent that an excerpt from his column of February 5, published in his Sandhills Citizen of Aberdeen, N.C., be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### SOCIAL SECURITY

The Congressional effort to produce a program to save Social Security began last week in the House Ways and Means Committee amid signs that some big controversies lie ahead.

Ever since a high-level presidential commission last month recommended the outlines of a program to stave off Social Security insolvency, hopes have been high for a smooth, bipartisan approach to the problem in Congress. But testimony by commission members has indicated some major hurdles remain.

The big outstanding issue involves the steps to be taken to insure the solvency of Social Security through the next 75 years, a period in which the large "baby boom" generation will reach retirement.

The last time the Social Security program was overhauled, it was supposed to be permanent. Well, that was about six years ago, and we see what has happened.

We think that some of the Commission Members are now becoming shaky about the permanency of the present plan, approved less than a month ago!

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED DURING THE ADJOURNMENT

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of February 3, 1983, the Secretary of the Senate, on February 8, February 9, and February 10, 1983, received messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations; which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received on February 8, February 9, and February 10, 1983, are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

#### FISHERY AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND KOREA—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED DURING THE ADJOURNMENT—PM 14

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of February 3, 1983, the Secretary of the Senate, on February 9, 1983, during the adjournment of the Senate, received the following message from the President of the United States, together with accompanying papers; which, pursuant to Public Law 94-265, was referred jointly to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation and the Committee on Foreign Relations:

#### To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the Magnuson Fishery Conservation and Management Act of 1976 (Public Law 94-265; 16 USC 1801), I transmit herewith a governing international fishery agreement between the United States and the Republic of Korea, signed at Washington on July 26, 1982.

This agreement is one of a series to be renegotiated in accordance with that legislation to replace existing bilateral fishery agreements. I urge that the Congress give favorable consideration to this agreement at an early date.

RONALD REAGAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, February 9, 1983.

#### ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED DURING THE ADJOURNMENT—PM 15

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of February 3, 1983, the Secretary of the Senate, on February 9, 1983, received the following message from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

#### To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to you the 1982 Annual Report of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. This report, the 22nd submitted since the creation of the Agency, provides a complete review of the important work of an Agency which plays a crucial role in our country's national security program.

On September 21, 1982, I met at the White House with the three U.S. arms control negotiators, Ambassadors Rowny, Nitze, and Starr before they returned to Europe for the final 1982 sessions of the START, INF, and MBFR negotiations, respectively. At that time, I outlined the following general principles which guide the formation of our arms control policies:

—Arms control must be an instrument of, and not a substitute for, a coherent security policy aimed in the first instance at the Soviet advantage in the most destabilizing class of weapons—ballistic missiles and, especially intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs). We will work for agreements that truly enhance security by reinforcing peace through deterrence.

—We must seek agreements that involve substantial and militarily significant reductions on both sides.

—Agreements must be based on the principle of equality of rights and limits.

—Arms control agreements must include effective means of verification. They cannot be based on trust alone.

—Our efforts will be guided by seriousness of purpose, reflected in our willingness to seek reduction to significantly lower levels of nuclear forces based on equal, balanced levels of comparable systems.

These principles are in full accord with the basic purpose of both U.S. and NATO security policy—ensuring the peace through deterrence of aggression. Deterring nuclear or conventional attack against us or our Allies must guide our approach to defense and arms control. These principles also lie at the heart of the comprehensive and innovative arms control approaches which this Administration has adopted. In each of the three most important areas of arms control—strategic nuclear arms, intermediate-range nuclear forces, and conventional forces in Europe—we have presented to the Soviet Union bold and equitable proposals which are in our mutual interest and which provide an opportunity to enhance world security and peace by significantly reducing the arsenals of both sides.

In each of these three negotiations, the United States has presented considered and equitable proposals which seek to establish a military equilibrium at reduced levels, eliminate the most destabilizing factors in the existing military balance, and enhance the security of both sides. When our national security, and that of our Allies, is at stake, we must approach arms control realistically. We do not seek agreements for their own sake; we seek them to build international security and stability. This Administration's reductions proposals for strategic and intermediate-range nuclear forces and for conventional forces reflect this approach. We are encouraged by the serious and businesslike conduct of these negotiations thus far. Although much hard bargaining lies ahead, I am determined to bargain in good faith until our objectives can be realized. We urge our Soviet negotiating partners equal seriousness of purpose.

The 1982 Annual Report not only includes details on all aspects of the three negotiations, but also refers to such other important elements of ACDA's responsibilities as providing expertise on both policy and technical levels for all other multilateral arms control negotiations, for our nuclear non-proliferation efforts, and for research and analysis of military budgets and arms transfers.

RONALD REAGAN.  
THE WHITE HOUSE, February 9, 1983.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

At 12:18 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Gregory, one of its clerks, announced that pursuant to the provisions

of 10 U.S.C. 9355(a), the Speaker appoints as members of the Board of Visitors to the U.S. Air Force Academy the following Members on the part of the House: Mr. FOLEY, Mr. DICKS, Mr. KRAMER, and Mr. LEWIS of California.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE RECEIVED DURING THE ADJOURNMENT

##### ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of February 3, 1983, the Secretary of the Senate, on February 7, 1983, received a message from the House of Representatives, announcing that the Speaker of the House has signed the following enrolled joint resolution:

H. J. Res. 60. Joint resolution to direct the President to issue a proclamation designating February 16, 1983, as "Lithuanian Independence Day".

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of February 3, 1983, the President pro tempore (Mr. THURMOND) signed the enrolled joint resolution on February 8, 1983, during the adjournment of the Senate.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES RECEIVED DURING THE ADJOURNMENT

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of February 3, 1983, the following reports of committees were submitted on February 10, 1983, during the adjournment of the Senate:

By Mr. MATHIAS, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, without amendment:

S. Res. 58. An original resolution providing for Members on the part of the Senate of the Joint Committee on Printing and the Joint Committee of Congress on the Library;

S. Res. 59. An original resolution authorizing expenditures by the Committee on Rules and Administration;

S. Res. 60. An original resolution authorizing the printing of a revised edition of the "Standing Rules of the Senate" as a Senate document; (Rept. No. 98-2), and

S. Res. 61. An original resolution to pay a gratuity to Kenneth J. Asbury and Catherine Asbury.

By Mr. HATCH, from the Committee on Labor and Human Resources, without amendment:

S. Res. 62. An original resolution authorizing expenditures by the Committee on Labor and Human Resources; referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

#### EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES SUBMITTED DURING THE ADJOURNMENT

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of February 3, 1983, the following executive reports of committees were filed on February 10, 1983, during the adjournment of the Senate:

By Mr. PERCY, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, with conditions to the resolution of ratification:

Treaty Doc. B, 95-1. Montreal Aviation Protocols Nos. 3 and 4 (Exec. Rept. No. 98-1).

By Mr. PERCY, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, with understandings to the resolution of ratification:

Treaty Doc. 97-19. Constitution of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (Exec. Rept. 98-2).

#### MEASURES PLACED ON THE CALENDAR

The following bill and joint resolution were read the second time, and ordered placed on the calendar:

S. J. Res. 8. Joint resolution to amend the Constitution of the United States to guarantee the right to life;

S. J. Res. 9. Joint resolution to amend the Constitution of the United States to protect the right to life; and

S. 26. A bill to provide legal protection for unborn human beings and for other purposes.

#### INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second time by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 472. A bill for the relief of Muradali P. Gillani, Yasmeen Muredali Gillani, and Aneela Gillani; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS

The following concurrent resolutions and Senate resolutions were read, and referred (or acted upon), as indicated:

By Mr. BYRD:

S. Res. 63. A resolution to amend rule XV of the Standing Rules of the Senate; submitted and read.

S. Res. 64. A resolution to amend rule XV of the Standing Rules of the Senate; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

#### ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 12

At the request of Mr. QUAYLE, the name of the Senator from Nebraska (Mr. EXON) was added as a cosponsor of S. 12, a bill to provide for a 2-year Federal budget cycle, and for other purposes.

S. 13

At the request of Mr. DOLE, the names of the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. DURENBERGER), and the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. KASTEN) were added as cosponsors of S. 13, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to decrease the holding period for long-term capital gain treatment from 1 year to 6 months.



S. 16

At the request of Mr. DOLE, the name of the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. KASTEN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 16, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide for the establishment of, and the deduction of contributions to, education savings accounts.

S. 118

At the request of Mr. HATCH, the name of the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. RANDOLPH) was added as a cosponsor of S. 118, a bill to provide for the establishment of a Commission on the Bicentennial of the Constitution.

S. 120

At the request of Mr. DOLE, the name of the Senator from Idaho (Mr. SYMMS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 120, a bill to extend for 2 years the allowance of the deduction for eliminating architectural and transportation barriers to the handicapped and elderly.

S. 343

At the request of Mr. BOSCHWITZ, the name of the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. FORD) was added as a cosponsor of S. 343, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to reduce the heavy vehicle use tax.

## SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 27

At the request of Mr. HEINZ, the names of the Senator from Florida (Mrs. HAWKINS), the Senator from New York (Mr. D'AMATO), the Senator from Illinois (Mr. PERCY), the Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. CHAFFEE), the Senator from Idaho (Mr. McCLURE), the Senator from Idaho (Mr. SYMMS), the Senator from Kansas (Mrs. KASSEBAUM), the Senator from Vermont (Mr. STAFFORD), the Senator from Iowa (Mr. GRASSLEY), the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. ABDNOR), the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. DOMENICI), the Senator from Iowa (Mr. JEPSEN), the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. DURENBERGER), the Senator from Washington (Mr. GORTON), the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. PRESSLER), the Senator from Indiana (Mr. QUAYLE), the Senator from Indiana (Mr. LUGAR), the Senator from Alaska (Mr. MURKOWSKI), the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. BOSCHWITZ), the Senator from California (Mr. WILSON), the Senator from Maine (Mr. COHEN), the Senator from Alabama (Mr. DENTON), the Senator from Oregon (Mr. PACKWOOD), the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. SPECTER), the Senator from Virginia (Mr. WARNER), the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. NICKLES), the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. STENNIS), the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. BUMBERS), the Senator from Florida (Mr. CHILES), the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. MATSUNAGA), the Senator from Arizona (Mr. DECONCINI), the Senator from Montana (Mr. BAUCUS), the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. SASSER), the Senator

from Rhode Island (Mr. PELL), the Senator from Nebraska (Mr. ZORINSKY), the Senator from Texas (Mr. BENTSEN), the Senator from Missouri (Mr. EAGLETON), the Senator from New York (Mr. MOYNIHAN), the Senator from Illinois (Mr. DIXON), the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. BURDICK), the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. HUDDLESTON), the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. HOLLINGS), the Senator from California (Mr. CRANSTON), the Senator from Alabama (Mr. HEFLIN), the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. PRYOR), and the Senator from Ohio (Mr. METZENBAUM) were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 27, a joint resolution authorizing and requesting the President to designate the week of March 13-19, 1983, as National Employ the Older Worker Week.

## SENATE RESOLUTION 58—ORIGINAL RESOLUTION REPORTED DURING THE ADJOURNMENT PROVIDING FOR SENATE MEMBERS OF CERTAIN JOINT COMMITTEES

Mr. MATHIAS, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, reported the following original resolution; which was placed on the calendar:

S. RES. 58

*Resolved*, That the following-named Members be, and they are hereby elected members of the following joint committees of Congress:

Joint Committee on Printing: Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland, Mr. HATFIELD of Oregon, Mr. BAKER of Tennessee, Mr. FORD of Kentucky, and Mr. PELL of Rhode Island.

Joint Committee of Congress on the Library: Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland, Mr. HATFIELD of Oregon, Mr. WARNER of Virginia, Mr. INOUE of Hawaii, and Mr. DECONCINI of Arizona.

## SENATE RESOLUTION 59—ORIGINAL RESOLUTION REPORTED DURING THE ADJOURNMENT AUTHORIZING EXPENDITURES BY THE COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

Mr. MATHIAS, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, reported the following original resolution; which was placed on the calendar:

S. RES. 59

*Resolved*, That, in carrying out its powers, duties, and functions under the Standing Rules of the Senate, in accordance with its jurisdiction under rule XXV of such rules, including holding hearings, reporting such hearings, and making investigations as authorized by paragraphs 1 and 8 of rule XXVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate, the Committee on Rules and Administration is authorized from March 1, 1983, through February 29, 1984, in its discretion (1) to make expenditures from the contingent fund of the Senate, (2) to employ personnel, and (3) with the prior consent of the Gov-

ernment department or agency concerned and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to use on a reimbursable basis the services of personnel of any such department or agency.

SEC. 2. The expenses of the committee under this resolution shall not exceed \$1,304,056, of which amount not to exceed \$5,000 may be expended for the procurement of the services of individual consultants, or organizations thereof (as authorized by section 202(l) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended).

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with such recommendations for legislation as its deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than February 29, 1984.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee under this resolution shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee, except that vouchers shall not be required for the disbursement of salaries of employees paid at an annual rate.

## SENATE RESOLUTION 60—ORIGINAL RESOLUTION REPORTED DURING THE ADJOURNMENT AUTHORIZING THE PRINTING OF THE STANDING RULES OF THE SENATE

Mr. MATHIAS, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, reported the following resolution; which was placed on the calendar:

S. RES. 60

*Resolved*, That the Committee on Rules and Administration hereby is directed to prepare a revised edition of Senate Document Numbered 97-10, entitled "Standing Rules of the Senate", and that such standing rules shall be printed as a Senate document.

SEC. 2. There shall be printed two thousand five hundred additional copies of the document specified in section 1 of this resolution for the use of the Committee on Rules and Administration.

## SENATE RESOLUTION 61—ORIGINAL RESOLUTION REPORTED DURING THE ADJOURNMENT TO PAY A GRATUITY TO KENNETH J. ASBURY AND CATHERINE ASBURY

Mr. MATHIAS, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, reported the following original resolution; which was placed on the calendar:

S. RES. 61

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate is authorized and directed to pay, from the contingent fund of the Senate, to Kenneth J. Asbury and Catherine Asbury, parents of Kenneth R. Asbury, an employee of the Senate at the time of his death, a sum of each equal to one-half of eight months' compensation at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered inclusive of funeral expenses and all other allowances.

# SENATE RESOLUTION 62—ORIGINAL RESOLUTION REPORTED DURING THE ADJOURNMENT AUTHORIZING EXPENDITURES BY THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES

Mr. HATCH, from the Committee on Labor and Human Resources, reported the following original resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

S. Res. 62

*Resolved*, That in carrying out its powers, duties, and functions under the Standing Rules of the Senate, in accordance with its jurisdiction under rule XXV of such rules, including holding hearings, reporting such hearings, and making investigations as authorized by paragraphs 1 and 8 of rule XXVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate, the Committee on Labor and Human Resources is authorized from March 1, 1983, through February 29, 1984, in its discretion (1) to make expenditures from the contingent fund of the Senate, (2) to employ personnel, and (3) with the prior consent of the government department or agency concerned and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to use on a reimbursable basis the services of personnel of any such department or agency.

Sec. 2. The expenses of the committee under this resolution shall not exceed \$5,021,000, of which amount not to exceed \$90,000 may be expended for the procurement of the services of individual consultants, or organizations thereof (as authorized by section 202(i) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended.)

Sec. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with such recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than February 29, 1984.

Sec. 4. Expenses of the committee under this resolution shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee, except that vouchers shall not be required for the disbursement of salaries of employees paid at an annual rate.

# SENATE RESOLUTION 63—RESOLUTION TO AMEND RULE XV OF THE STANDING RULES OF THE SENATE

Mr. BYRD submitted the following resolution; which was ordered to lie over under the rule:

S. Res. 63

*Resolved*, That Rule XV of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended—

(1) by inserting after "Motions" in the caption a semicolon and the following: "GERMANENESS";

(2) by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"6. (a) At any time during the consideration of a bill or resolution, it shall twice be in order during a calendar day to move that no amendment, other than the reported committee amendments, which is not germane or relevant to the subject matter of the bill or resolution, or to the subject matter of an amendment proposed by the committee which reported the bill or resolution, shall thereafter be in order. The motion shall be privileged and shall be decided after one hour of debate, to be equally

divided and controlled by the Majority Leader and the Minority Leader or their designees.

"(b) If a motion made under subparagraph (a) is agreed to by an affirmative vote of three-fifths of the Senators present and voting, then any floor amendment not already agreed to (except amendments proposed by the committee which reported the bill or resolution) which is not germane or relevant to the subject matter of the bill or resolution, or the subject matter of an amendment proposed by the committee which reported the bill or resolution, shall not be in order.

"(c) When a motion made under subparagraph (a) has been agreed to as provided in subparagraph (b) with respect to a bill or resolution, points of order with respect to questions of germaneness or relevancy of amendments shall be decided without debate, except that the Presiding Officer may entertain debate for his own guidance prior to ruling on the point of order. Appeals from the decision of the Presiding Officer on such points of order shall be decided without debate.

"(d) Whenever an appeal is taken from a decision of the Presiding Officer on the question of germaneness of an amendment, or whenever the Presiding Officer submits the question of germaneness or relevancy of an amendment to the Senate, the vote necessary to overturn the decision of the Presiding Officer or hold the amendment germane or relevant shall be two-thirds of the Senators present and voting, a quorum being present."

# SENATE RESOLUTION 64—RESOLUTION TO AMEND RULE XV OF THE STANDING RULES OF THE SENATE

Mr. BYRD submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

S. Res. 64

*Resolved*, That Rule XV of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended—

(1) by inserting after "Motions" in the caption a semicolon and the following: "GERMANENESS";

(2) by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"6. (a) At any time during the consideration of a bill or resolution, it shall twice be in order during a calendar day to move that no amendment, other than the reported committee amendments, which is not germane or relevant to the subject matter of the bill or resolution, or to the subject matter of an amendment proposed by the committee which reported the bill or resolution, shall thereafter be in order. The motion shall be privileged and shall be decided after one hour of debate, to be equally divided and controlled by the Majority Leader and the Minority Leader or their designees.

"(b) If a motion made under subparagraph (a) is agreed to by an affirmative vote of three-fifths of the Senators present and voting, then any floor amendment not already agreed to (except amendments proposed by the committee which reported the bill or resolution) which is not germane or relevant to the subject matter of the bill or resolution, or the subject matter of an amendment proposed by the committee which reported the bill or resolution, shall not be in order.

"(c) When a motion made under subparagraph (a) has been agreed to as provided in subparagraph (b) with respect to a bill or resolution, points of order with respect to questions of germaneness or relevancy of amendments shall be decided without debate, except that the Presiding Officer may entertain debate for his own guidance prior to ruling on the point of order. Appeals from the decision of the Presiding Officer on such points of order shall be decided without debate.

"(d) Whenever an appeal is taken from a decision of the Presiding Officer on the question of germaneness of an amendment, or whenever the Presiding Officer submits the question of germaneness or relevancy of an amendment to the Senate, the vote necessary to overturn the decision of the Presiding Officer or hold the amendment germane or relevant shall be two-thirds of the Senators present and voting, a quorum being present."

# NOTICES OF HEARINGS

## SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, the Subcommittee on Labor will hold a hearing on March 10, 1983, at 9:30 a.m., in room SD430 of the Dirksen Senate Office Building to discuss the current health and future prospects of defined benefit pension plans—both single and multiemployer—under ERISA. Persons desiring to testify should submit written requests to Hon. DON NICKLES, chairman, Subcommittee on Labor, Washington, D.C. 20510. Requests to testify must be submitted no later than February 23, 1983.

Mr. President, the Subcommittee on Labor will hold a hearing on March 15, 1983, at 9:30 a.m., in room SD430 of the Dirksen Senate Office Building regarding S. 336, the Labor Management Racketeering Act of 1983. Persons desiring to testify should submit written requests to Hon. DON NICKLES, chairman, Subcommittee on Labor, Washington, D.C. 20510. Requests to testify must be submitted no later than February 23, 1983.

# AUTHORITY FOR COMMITTEES TO MEET

## PERMANENT SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Governmental Affairs be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Tuesday, February 15, at 10 a.m. to hold an oversight hearing on the subject, "Profile of Organized Crime: Mid Atlantic."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Governmental Affairs be authorized to meet during



the session of the Senate on Wednesday, February 23, at 10 a.m. to hold an oversight hearing on the subject, "Profile of Organized Crime: Mid Atlantic."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Governmental Affairs be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Thursday, February 24, at 10 a.m. to hold an oversight hearing on the subject, "Profile of Organized Crime: Mid Atlantic."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

##### NATIONAL SALUTE TO HOSPITALIZED VETERANS

● Mr. BOSCHWITZ. Mr. President, the people of America have long been secure in the knowledge that the unique freedom which is their birthright is sustained and nurtured by their dedicated, unselfish, and brave Armed Forces.

With deepest gratitude and pride, I join wholeheartedly in the national salute to hospitalized veterans on this February 14. It is vital that those of us who have been protected by their sacrifice never forget how much they have given for God and for their country and its people. Theirs is the ultimate gift, offered in a spirit which is in the finest tradition of a free people and a proud Nation.

On Valentine's Day, please join me in heartfelt thanks to our hospitalized veterans.●

##### A PATCHWORK PLAN

● Mr. ARMSTRONG. Mr. President, I call the attention of my colleagues to a recent Denver Post editorial which I ask to have printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The Post editors characterize the recommendations of the Social Security Commission as "a jury-rigged plan to shore up the faltering Social Security System" and one that leaves a "yawning gap of more than a half trillion dollars" in the long term.

This is a balanced, thoughtful editorial that is in the best tradition of a free press. The Denver Post editors cite the strengths of the Commission report but call for the long-term reforms that will give young people reason to believe in the system.

The Congress may never have a better opportunity to fulfill its responsibility to represent the best interests of the people than in the coming social security debate. I ask my colleagues to consider the persuasive arguments of the Post editors when they

ask us to add the reforms to the package that will enable the under-45 workers to depend on the long-term financial stability of the system.

The editorial referred to follows:

##### A PATCHWORK PLAN

Hardware and candy stores in the Washington, D.C., area must have cleaned out their stocks of chewing gum and baling wire over the weekend as President Reagan's bipartisan advisory commission completed jury-rigging a plan to shore up the faltering Social Security system.

The plan's weaknesses are redeemed by one important virtue—it probably can pass Congress and be signed by President Reagan. That will avoid the political firestorm that would otherwise have flared this summer when checks to present beneficiaries would have had to be held up until enough taxes trickled into the system's treasury to cover them.

But by the commission's own account, its proposal would only patch up the short-term problems of the system. It leaves a yawning gap of more than a half trillion dollars between projected income and projected payments when the post-war "baby boom" generation reaches retirement about 2010.

The commission estimated the system was about \$150 billion to \$200 billion short of being able to match income and benefits through 1990. Its proposed package of tax boosts and restraints on benefit increases totals \$169 billion. So, with a little luck, the near-run crisis may move off the front pages.

But the long-term challenge to the system is posed by demographic trends. The generation born soon after World War II is so much more numerous than the generations that precede and follow it that it threatens to undermine the system's basic concept.

Social Security is a kind of chain letter scheme which has depended on many more people paying taxes than receiving benefits. But an aging population has already reduced that ratio to 3.3 active workers for each person now receiving benefits. By the time the baby boom generation retires, only two workers will support each beneficiary. Taxes would have to double again to support that generation under present law. That is probably politically and economically unfeasible.

One solution is to gradually raise the retirement age to 68 by 1995. Thus, "baby boomers," who can expect to live longer than their forebears, will also be expected to work three years longer. That may be bad news, but it is better to hear it now, when there is time to adjust plans, than to depend on a system that faces collapse without drastic measures when they need it most.

Simple as it is, that course proved too politically hot a subject for most of the commissioners. An exception was Colorado Sen. Bill Armstrong—one of only three commission members to refuse to endorse the compromise. Armstrong is now under heavy criticism for holding out, but his numbers are impeccable. The compromise he is being asked to endorse would douse a present political brushfire, but would cloud the long-term security of everyone under about 45 years of age.

That's not to say the plan has no merit. Even though it relies mostly on tax increases, it does establish some limits on future benefit growth. It takes significant steps to assure that persons who benefit

from the system pay proportionately into it. And it will encourage Americans after 1990 to continue working past age 65 by increasing their benefits when they do retire.

For now, we find it acceptable. But without addressing the retirement age question more directly, the bail-out proposal only imposes increased taxes with no assurance that under-45 workers, in turn, can depend on the system they are now asked to save. We hope Armstrong's example inspires Congress to finish the job.●

#### SOCIAL SECURITY

● Mr. ARMSTRONG. Mr. President, I ask to have a recent editorial from the Glenwood Post printed in the RECORD.

It is an editorial that is deserving of careful reading by my colleagues. It clearly outlines the demographic changes in the society and defects that now threaten the social security system. The editors are critical of the Commission's failure to meet the fundamental problems of social security, but they make an important point. The editors advise that the Commission's plan, with all its faults, should be nurtured so that it can grow into an adequate solution.

I hope we in Congress will take the approach recommended by the Glenwood Post. Even though I voted against the Commission's plan, I hope we will not kill it—but add the reforms that are necessary to assure the security of the system indefinitely.

(From the Glenwood Post, Jan. 18, 1983)

##### HANDLE WITH CARE

At Rep. Ray Kogovsek's town meeting in Glenwood Springs last week, questions and comments about Social Security cropped up throughout the evening.

The long-awaited plan advanced by President Reagan's advisory commission on Social Security this weekend, although flawed, does advocate a few steps designed to remedy some of the program's short-term problems.

The advisory commission, however, declined to meet squarely the fundamental problem of the system: benefits outweigh contributions.

A changing American society, primarily an increased percentage of older and retired Americans, has placed—and will continue to bring—increasing pressure on the Social Security system.

In 1950, 16.5 workers supported each Social Security beneficiary. In 1983, only 3.2 workers support each beneficiary. When the "pig in the python"—the baby boom generation, retires, only two workers will support each beneficiary.

In addition, benefits paid have grown faster than taxes. Through the years the program has been burdened with additional benefits, a so-called "Christmas Tree."

The Social Security program spends \$17,000 a minute more than it collects from contributors. By the end of this year, the program will have lost about \$20 billion. By the end of this decade Social Security may have lost about \$200 billion.

The \$169 billion plan forwarded by the presidential advisory commission resembles much of the previous hand-wringing about Social Security. More taxes without genuine benefit reductions only defer the inevitable.

A person who retires at 65 after paying the maximum Social Security contribution throughout his or her career will receive benefits equal to contributions in only 1½ years.

Is it any wonder the Social Security system has sprung more leaks than a colander?

Nevertheless the flawed plan should be treated with care or it represents the beginnings of a genuine attempt to bring Social Security back from the brink of insolvency.

A provision moving the mandatory retirement age to 68 should have been included to heal the system's long-term weaknesses. Instead, a plan for those who delay their retirement was written into the commission's recommendations.

Strong support for private savings programs and pension plans should have been a criterion during formulation of the plan.

The advisory commission's plan does contain many of the recommendations advanced by study groups insurance and pension experts and elected officials who have examined the issues.

Despite the plan's faults, it should be nurtured and sheltered so that it can, with guidance grow into an adequate solution to Social Security's problems.■

#### SOCIAL SECURITY COMMISSION'S PLAN

● **Mr. ARMSTRONG.** Mr. President, I am sending an editorial from the Durango Colorado Herald to the desk and ask that it be printed in the RECORD. The editorial is a comment on the Social Security Commission's recommended plan that I ask my colleagues to read and consider.

Early this year, the U.S. Senate will debate the merits of the Commission's plan and when we do, I hope we will consider the criticisms that are outlined in this Durango Herald editorial. As the editors point out, the speedup in payroll taxes will hurt employees and foster unemployment as businesses reduce their work force in an effort to cope with the tax.

On this issue, as on many others, the Durango Herald is making a contribution to intelligent debate.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY

About the only remark that can be made in favor of the new compromise to deal with Social Security is that, given the support of a Republican president and a Democratic speaker of the House, it is likely to pass Congress.

It's poor legislation, however, for it does not deal with the central problem of increasing benefits for an enlarging older population and a shrinking work force of younger workers expected to provide them.

It should not be surprising that the patchwork proposal is poor. It was put together by a bipartisan commission appointed by the president when it became clear that members of Congress lacked the political courage to do it themselves. Then, as the form of the compromise became clearer, not until the last minute did the president and the speaker of the House say they'd support it. Nor did they provide the commission with any leadership.

At least Sen. Bill Armstrong, one of three who voted against the measure, had the

courage of his convictions. We wish he had prevailed.

The projected speed-up in the scheduled increases of payroll taxes is particularly hard on small business. The employees, whose taxes will jump, are given a one-time refundable tax credit. Not so their employers, whose taxes will also jump. This, of course, works to keep the number of full-time employees down—not what an administration wants in a time of horrendous unemployment.

It's unfortunately all too possible now to envision a time when employers are taxed at a higher rate than are employees.

What Congress should do is separate the welfare function of Social Security from its insurance one. The welfare programs, or incomes transfers, for the needy elderly should be handled like other such welfare programs, funded by general revenues and with a means test. If it's a welfare benefit, say so instead of calling it an old age insurance payment, which it is not.

What to do about the insurance function? One good suggestion is to give every individual, as he retires from the work force, an annuity equal to his contributions and his employer's to the Social Security fund plus interest based, for instance, on the treasury bill rate.

As envisioned by supporters of this plan, each year the cash flow needs of the retirement insurance fund would be determined and an employer-employee rate set accordingly. Between 2 to 4 months of projected payments would be kept in reserves.

When a Social Security taxpayer decides to retire, anytime after 62, he or she could decide among three ways to receive the annuity: a single one where payments would stop when the beneficiary dies; a joint-survivor one which ends with the death of the second one; or a 12-year-plan which ends with the death of the beneficiary or when 12 years have passed.

A major charm of this idea is that it is fair, it makes economic sense and it's not complicated. It deals with old age insurance as an insurance company would—not loading the fund down with welfare payments.

When Rep. Ray Kogovsek was here last week, he said he believed members of Congress were "finally" ready to make tough decisions. To design a Social Security plan that did what it was expected to do—provide old age insurance coverage—should not be difficult. The welfare components should be dealt with separately.

#### A MISTAKE MADE

Would you believe that Frank Bane, the "father" of Social Security, is now 90? He was the first director of Social Security from 1935 to 1938 and what does he say today? "I made a mistake."

In 1930 life expectancy at birth was 59.7 years and though Bane says he was aware that figure was rising, he wasn't sure how rapidly. But how could he have been expected to guess it would reach 73.8 in 1980?■

#### RULES OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

● **Mr. MATHIAS.** Mr. President, pursuant to rule XXVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I submit for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Rules of the Committee on Rules and Administration for the 98th Congress as adopted by the committee on February 4, 1983.

The rules follow:

#### RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

(Readopted February 4, 1983)

##### TITLE I—MEETINGS OF THE COMMITTEE

1. The regular meeting dates of the committee shall be the second and fourth Wednesdays of each month, at 10 a.m., in room 301, Russell Senate Office Building. Additional meetings may be called by the chairman as he may deem necessary or pursuant to the provisions of paragraph 3 of rule XXVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate.

2. Meetings of the committee, including meetings to conduct hearings, shall be open to the public, except that a meeting or series of meetings by the committee on the same subject for a period of no more than 14 calendar days may be closed to the public on a motion made and seconded to go into closed session to discuss only whether the matters enumerated in subparagraphs (A) through (F) would require the meeting to be closed followed immediately by a record vote in open session by a majority of the members of the committee when it is determined that the matters to be discussed or the testimony to be taken at such meeting or meetings—

(A) will disclose matters necessary to be kept secret in the interests of national defense or the confidential conduct of the foreign relations of the United States;

(B) will relate solely to matters of committee staff personnel or internal staff management or procedure;

(C) will tend to charge an individual with crime or misconduct, to disgrace or injure the professional standing of an individual, or otherwise to expose an individual to public contempt or obloquy, or will represent a clearly unwarranted invasion of the privacy of an individual;

(D) will disclose the identity of any informer or law enforcement agent or will disclose any information relating to the investigation or prosecution of a criminal offense that is required to be kept secret in the interests of effective law enforcement;

(E) will disclose information relating to the trade secrets of financial or commercial information pertaining specifically to a given person if—

(1) an Act of Congress requires the information to be kept confidential by Government officers and employees; or

(2) the information has been obtained by the Government on a confidential basis, other than through an application by such person for a specific Government financial or other benefit, and is required to be kept secret in order to prevent undue injury to the competitive position of such person; or

(F) may divulge matters required to be kept confidential under other provisions of law or Government regulations. (Paragraph 5(b) of rule XXVI of the Standing Rules.)

3. Written notices of committee meetings will normally be sent by the committee's staff director to all members of the committee at least 3 days in advance. In addition, the committee staff will telephone reminders of committee meetings to all members of the committee or to the appropriate staff assistants in their offices.

4. A copy of the committee's intended agenda enumerating separate items of legislative business and committee business will normally be sent to all members of the committee by the staff director at least 1 day in advance of all meetings. This does not pre-



clude any member of the committee from raising appropriate non-agenda topics.

#### TITLE II—QUORUMS

1. Pursuant to paragraph 7(a)(1) of rule XXVI of the Standing Rules, 7 members of the committee shall constitute a quorum for the reporting of legislative measures.

2. Pursuant to paragraph 7(a)(1) of rule XXVI of the Standing Rules, 4 members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, including action on amendments to measures prior to voting to report the measure to the Senate.

3. Pursuant to paragraph 7(a)(2) of rule XXVI of the Senate Rules, 4 members of the committee shall constitute a quorum for the purpose of taking testimony under oath; provided, however, that once a quorum is established, any one member can continue to take such testimony.

4. Under no circumstances may proxies be considered for the establishment of a quorum.

#### TITLE III—VOTING

1. Voting in the committee on any issue will normally be by voice vote.

2. If a third of the members present so demand, a record vote will be taken on any question by rollcall.

3. The results of rollcall votes taken in any meeting upon any measure, or any amendment thereto, shall be stated in the committee report on that measure unless previously announced by the committee, and such report or announcement shall include a tabulation of the votes cast in favor of and the votes cast in opposition to each such measure and amendment by each member of the committee. (Paragraph 7 (b) and (c) of rule XXVI of the Standing Rules.)

4. Proxy voting shall be allowed on all measures and matters before the committee. However, the vote of the committee to report a measure or matter shall require the concurrence of a majority of the members of the committee who are physically present at the time of the vote. Proxies will be allowed in such cases solely for the purpose of recording a member's position on the question and then only in those instances when the absentee committee member has been informed of the question and has affirmatively requested that he be recorded. (Paragraph 7(a)(3) of rule XXVI of the Standing Rules.)

#### TITLE IV—DELEGATION OF AUTHORITY TO COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN

1. The chairman is authorized to sign himself or by delegation all necessary vouchers and routine papers for which the committee's approval is required and to decide in the committee's behalf all routine business.

2. The chairman is authorized to engage commercial reporters for the preparation of transcripts of committee meetings and hearings.

3. The chairman is authorized to issue, in behalf of the committee, regulations normally promulgated by the committee at the beginning of each session, including the senatorial long-distance telephone regulations and the senatorial telegram regulations.●

#### LONG-TERM SOCIAL SECURITY PROBLEMS

● Mr. ARMSTRONG. Mr. President, I request that an editorial from the Colorado Springs Sun entitled "Report Misses Solid Solution" be printed in the RECORD. The editorial warns of the

critical necessity for this Congress to go beyond the Social Security Commission's recommendations and resolve the long-term problems of the social security system.

The editors of the Sun are alert to the need for fundamental reform of social security and are doing their part to inform the people. I commend their comments to my colleagues.

[From the Colorado Springs Sun, Jan. 25, 1983]

#### OUR VIEW: REPORT MISSES SOLID SOLUTION

There is precious little that is new in the recently released long-awaited report and recommendations from the bipartisan Social Security commission.

The recommendations from the commission ranging from its suggested payroll deduction boosts to some delays in benefit increases, do little to address the failing system's long-term problems.

The commission members seem to have been intent on focusing solely on the system's \$169 billion short-term problem.

A notable exception to the short-term mentality has been U.S. Sen. William Armstrong. We applaud Armstrong for his courage and hope that he will continue in his chosen role as a spokesman for dissent.

Armstrong has categorized the increase in payroll deductions as nothing but a tax increase—"... a massive tax increase, the largest we've seen in years."

We agree wholeheartedly with the senator. The solution to the system's problems is not to be found in making contributions to it more burdensome for already strapped taxpayers.

Armstrong has called for "benefit restraint" instead of tax increase.

Once again we find ourselves in agreement with Armstrong.

The Social Security System has made long-term promises to the U.S. public. It cannot meet those promises by coming up with short-term patchwork solutions.

We've heard a lot of self-congratulatory statements from the White House and Congress as each has tried to jump on the commission's bandwagon. We would caution those patting themselves on the back to look at how far down the road their bandwagon is going to take them.

There is much danger in letting short-term solutions develop into blinders that obscure the need to address already foreseeable problems that go far into the next century.

Sen. Armstrong is to be commended for pointing out that danger. We can only hope that his warnings will not continue to fall on closed ears.●

#### TAX INDEXING

● Mr. ARMSTRONG. Mr. President, I ask to have printed in the RECORD an editorial from the Greeley Colorado Tribune. The editors express strong support for indexing of tax rates and oppose the repeal that some are now suggesting.

After a long and arduous effort, Congress adopted indexing as part of the 1981 tax package. This is a far-reaching reform that stops the tax increases that the Tribune accurately characterizes as painless increases in revenues that never required an "embarrassing vote" by Congress.

The Greeley Tribune editorial calls for straightforward solutions to budget problems and calls the repeal of indexing as budget flim-flam at its worst. This is advice from the grassroots and I hope Congress will listen.

The editorial follows:

[From the Greeley Tribune, Jan. 13, 1983]

#### LEAVE TAX INDEX WELL ENOUGH ALONE

The Reagan administration is looking for ways to get itself out of a major federal budget deficit. One idea under consideration is to abandon the plan to index federal income tax brackets to remove the effects of inflation.

Gov. Richard Lamm, faced with a similar problem at the state level, reportedly is considering changes in the indexing formula for state taxes.

We'll be blunt. The idea, whether at the federal or state level, is a bad one.

At first glance, the issue appears to be one of the classically boring questions that seem to interest only accountants and tax lawyers. In reality, tax indexing affects every American who pays taxes.

Both the state and federal income tax systems are progressive. As you make more money, you pay a higher percentage of your income in taxes.

During the 1970s, however, taxpayers found that the progressive income tax system can play a cruel trick during times of high inflation. If you got a cost-of-living raise merely to keep pace with inflation, the government took a bigger bite out of your paycheck because you moved into a higher tax bracket.

Government, meanwhile, had little desire to control inflation because tax revenues grew rapidly. The increases in tax revenues caused by inflation were painless for Congress. No one faced the embarrassing vote on a tax increase. The money just came in.

The Colorado legislature wisely indexed state income tax brackets in the 1970s. After a strong fight led by Republican Sen. Bill Armstrong of Colorado, Congress agreed to begin indexing federal income tax brackets in 1984.

As inflation rates have cooled in the past three years, the issue has taken on less importance. There is no promise, however, that inflation won't again become a major economic problem in the near future. As a matter of fact, a return to the high-inflation days of the late 1970s has become increasingly possible since late summer as the Federal Reserve Board has begun pumping money into the economy in an attempt to pull the nation out of its deepest recession since World War II.

Even with current inflation rates at about 5 percent, there is no harm in having an indexing law on the books in readiness for the day inflation rates again turn upward.

We acknowledge the state government faces a difficult problem in balancing its budget, and we acknowledge that the biggest economic task facing the Reagan administration is to bring deficits under control.

We believe, however, that both the state and federal budget problems demand straightforward solutions. Budgets can be cut. Taxes can be increased. The decisions will be painful. No one likes either option.

Removal of provisions which index tax brackets, however, is not a straightforward solution to state and federal budget problems. It is a budget flim-flam of the worst sort.●

## THE FLAT-TAX CONCEPT

● Mr. QUAYLE. Mr. President, in the last Congress, quite a number of Members expressed an interest in major tax simplification and tax reform proposals. More than a dozen bills have been introduced; several advocate moving to a flat-rate tax, while others—including my own proposal, S. 2557, the Self-tax Plan of 1982—advocate a low-rate progressive tax structure. While there has been a great deal of general discussion of the concept, and some hearings have been held, little is known about how such a simplified tax system would operate in practice.

The January 28 edition of the Wall Street Journal includes an article by Roy W. Jastram on the operation of the flat-rate tax system now in operation on the Isle of Man. For the past 20 years, the Isle of Man has operated with a flat-rate tax of 20 percent on individuals and business. The system permits very few tax preferences, and taxes are computed on a single piece of paper. I believe many of my colleagues will be interested in Mr. Jastram's description of the Manx tax. I ask that his article be printed in the RECORD.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Jan. 28, 1983]

FLAT-TAX LAB: THE ISLE OF MAN  
(By Roy W. Jastram)

Tax reform, which has bedeviled many presidents and Congresses, is again in ferment.

We are agreed that our present system of trying to extract from the citizenry enough dollars to pay the government's bills is too complex, costly and full of inequities. But as usual, few agree on how to make it simpler, cheaper to operate and fairer.

One prominent contender for achieving these desirable ends is the flat-rate tax on incomes. It must always be remembered that a flat-rate income tax has two distinct parts: 1) the percentage of tax to be applied; and 2) the numbers and kinds of deductions to be allowed. Much needless confusion arises over this subject because of a misapprehension that a flat-rate income tax necessarily precludes certain kinds of deductions.

The best way to get some idea of how a flat tax would work is to take a look at one in operation. And, as luck would have it, we've got one: It's on the Isle of Man in the Irish Sea.

For the past 20 years, the Isle of Man has operated with a flat-rate income tax of about 20% on individuals and corporations alike. And in the last 10 years its national income has risen nearly 500%.

Yes, the Isle of Man is small. But so is an experimental culture in a biologist's laboratory from which important principles have been drawn and hypotheses confirmed. The island has a population of 66,000 operating a modern economy with a mixture of manufacturing, finance, agriculture, construction and a wide range of services.

## MAINTAINS PUBLIC SERVICES

The government of the island funds and maintains its own education, health, national insurance, social security, pensions, police, postal and other public services. The

level of social benefits is comparable to that in the United Kingdom.

It should be emphasized that the island is totally independent from the U.K. except for defense, foreign affairs and diplomatic representation, for which it pays to Britain 2.5 percent of its customs and excise receipts. It has its own parliament, the Tynwald, which dates back 1,000 years. It is not represented in the British Parliament.

When we look at the Manx flat-rate income tax we are not looking at an anachronism ("Manx" is the adjectival form of Isle of Man). We are examining the results of a sophisticated overhaul of the island's entire tax system spanning the 1970s and culminating in the "Income Tax (Amendment) Act of 1979." This modern system emerges as an innovative attempt to remedy the confusing patchwork muddle to which most national tax systems are prone. Written on a clear slate, it is the most concise and original example of a working flat-rate income tax that can be observed. (In fact the entire Manx tax code deserves study.)

The tax rate in 1982 was 20 percent. Each year the Tynwald sets the rate for the forthcoming tax year. Since 1962, the flat rate has varied between 21.25 percent and the current 20 percent.

What about exemptions? The simplest way to examine how exemptions are applied is by presenting a prototype of a single family and a corporation.

The income tax return of a married couple with one child receiving a single income represented by the earnings of the husband would be worked out like this:

You begin with the individuals total earned income figure. From that subtract personal allowances (which for a married man there are 2.315 British pounds, and for each child, depending on age, from 250 to 350 pounds). Then subtract expense deductions (which include: expenses incurred in earning income; mortgage and loan interest—for any purpose—paid to a Manx recipient; and retirement annuity payments made). Those subtractions leave one's taxable income. And 20 percent of that is the personal income tax on the Isle of Man.

This information could be fitted onto the proverbial postcard, but the Manx Taxing Authority uses a sheet of paper so the taxpayer need not suffer the discomfort of cramped handwriting.

The principles of company (or corporate) taxation are closely consonant with the individual tax and form an integrated system. This can be accomplished in a straight forward manner when a flat rate income tax of equal percentage is applied to both.

A company's taxable income is computed according to the usual rules:

Starting with gross income, one subtracts: a) direct expenses to acquire income, including reasonable entertainment; and b) capital allowances. That leaves taxable income. And 20% of that is the company's income tax.

It is especially noteworthy that in addition to these customary deductions a company can subtract that part of its income as shall be distributed among its shareholders or members by way of dividends, bonus, interest or share of profit. As these amounts are passed on to the recipients designated, they become subject to the personal income tax of the same 20%. In this manner the Manx system avoids the double taxation of corporate income so controversial in our own code.

## COMPASSIONATE TREATMENT

There is a distinction between earned and unearned income. Earned income is reduced

by one-fourth of the first 6,200 pounds, with the standard 20% then applied.

Lest anyone think that the successful operation of a flat-rate income tax forecloses compassionate treatment of the individual, it should be pointed out there is provision in the Isle of Man's system for age relief, small income relief, dependent relative relief and tax relief when age or infirmity of the taxpayer causes a son or daughter to reside with the taxpayer. Particularly contemporary is a "housekeeper allowance" whereby a deduction is given to a widow who employs some other person to have care and charge of her child in the home. On grounds of equality, the "housekeeper allowance" is extended also to a widower similarly situated.

In the Manx system the income tax described is the main form of direct taxation.

There are no death or estate duties; no capital transfer or gift taxes; no wealth tax nor any other capital levies; no capital gains taxes, with the exception of a narrowly prescribed land speculation tax.

In international financial circles the Isle of Man may be viewed as a "tax haven." The inhabitants consider their tax code as a sensible solution to meeting their needs. It may be a tax haven for some but this need not be a derogative term. It would be a credit to the strongest economy in the world if it were also known as a haven from unjust, confused and often contradictory taxation. ●

## SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM

● Mr. ARMSTRONG. Mr. President, I ask to have an editorial printed in the RECORD. I recommend that my colleagues consider this editorial as they formulate their positions in response to the recommendations of the Social Security Commission. The editors of the Colorado Springs Gazette Telegraph view the proposed large tax increase as a band-aid approach that will damage our economy.

I hope that the Congress will heed the appeal of the editors of the Gazette Telegraph to act in the long-range interest of the people in saving the social security system. The Gazette Telegraph is helping to create a genuine understanding of social security and how to save it.

[From the Colorado Springs Gazette Telegraph, Jan. 25, 1983]

## ARMSTRONG VERSUS QUICK FIX

Sen. William Armstrong's opposition to solving the problem of financing Social Security by raising taxes should be applauded by everyone who understands the damage implicit in the recommendations of the National Commission on Social Security Reform.

Operating on the presumption that the American wage earner and employer are fattened milk cows from which endless tax increases can exact "benefits," the commission has recommended the band aid approach to solving Social Security's immediate financial troubles by a policy which would cover the impending shortfall, to the extent of about 85 percent, by raising taxes and indirectly tapping the general fund.

Senator Armstrong, on the other hand, calls to the nation's attention that this course is doubly damaging in that it merely imposes greater burdens of taxation while



doing nothing about the long-term solvency of the system. Recommending a moderately later retirement age (at an earlier date than the commission) as the centerpiece of his suggested reforms, Senator Armstrong recognizes the obvious increase in life expectancy as the critical move which must be made if burdensome tax increases are to be avoided. Armstrong also has attacked the overblown CPI as a reasonable indexing for benefit increases.

Taking on the vested interests of the political establishment, both Republican and Democratic, which thrive on quick fixes for political advantage, is a formidable challenge on Armstrong's part. The nation is fortunate there is someone like him trying to hold back the forces of political opportunism which have gotten us into the terrible federal financial mess that now threatens everyone's well-being. ●

### SOCIAL SECURITY PROPOSALS

● Mr. ARMSTRONG. Mr. President, the Grand Junction Daily Sentinel recently published an editorial on the recommended program of the Social Security Commission. I ask that this editorial be printed in the RECORD so that my colleagues and others can have the benefit of this view as we approach a decision on the critical problems of social security.

The Daily Sentinel is highly critical of the package because it relies primarily on saddling current wage earners with ever greater payroll tax increases. Through the years, I have found that the editors of the Sentinel have carried out the mission of the free press in western Colorado in a most responsible manner by offering constructive criticism whether it was popular or not. The Sentinel points out that the acceleration of payroll tax increases will, in all likelihood, aggravate our economic problems. I hope my colleagues will consider the views of the Sentinel because there is a better way to save the social security system.

[Editorial from the Grand Junction Daily Sentinel, Jan. 17, 1983]

#### LEAST WORSE?

Alan Greenspan, the chairman of the special bipartisan commission which over the weekend recommended a series of measures to shore up the troubled Social Security System, described the bail-out plan as the "least worse" set of alternatives the commission could have adopted.

Least worse, eh? For the "least worse" we appoint presidential commissions? Well, we genuinely expected as much, even though all along we kept hoping for better.

It's certainly arguable that the plan adopted by the 15-member commission over the weekend is a far cry from being the "least worse" course of action to save the financially troubled retirement program. What probably can be said about it with certainty is that it's the most politically palatable plan from Congress' point of view as well as President Reagan's.

In the upcoming days, we'll all be hearing how the bail-out plan is a good compromise between those in Congress who prefer to look the other way while spiraling benefit increases threaten to bankrupt the system

and those who want to hold the line on future tax increases.

Well, in our view, the plan adopted by the special commission is a lousy compromise which relies primarily on saddling current wage earners with ever greater payroll tax increases. Had the commission devised a way to ensure the long-term financial integrity of Social Security without increasing the financial burden on the productive sector of the economy, its mission could have been adjudged a success.

By proposing to accelerate payroll tax increases now scheduled to go into effect in 1985 and 1990, the commission plan is likely to aggravate unemployment, thereby further aggravating the country's economic plight and, by extension, Social Security.

Colorado Sen. Bill Armstrong, one of only three members of the special commission to disagree with the bail-out plan, described it for what it is. Namely, a "package of tax increases."

We should have expected as much. ●

### GOVERNMENT IN NICARAGUA

● Mr. ARMSTRONG. Mr. President, many people in the United States believe the present government in Nicaragua is democratic and nonaligned. Some news accounts have supported this view. Other evidence indicates that the Sandinist movement, which began as a popular uprising against a corrupt dictatorship, has changed leadership and now poses a military threat to Nicaragua's neighbors in Central America.

I should like to have printed in the RECORD at this time several articles—"Nightmare in Nicaragua" by Ralph Kinney Bennett in the Reader's Digest; "Nicaraguan Nemesis" by Shirley Christian in the New Republic; "The Nicaraguan Connection," a Heritage Foundation background paper, and an Accuracy in Media (AIM) report entitled "The Reincarnation of Herbert Matthews"—which describe the affairs in Nicaragua in a different light than popular news stories.

I do so in order that my colleagues and other interested persons have an opportunity to review both sides of the situation and draw their own conclusions.

The articles follow:

#### NIGHTMARE IN NICARAGUA

(By Ralph Kinney Bennett)

For the people of Nicaragua, politics these days can be brutally simple; do what the Sandinista government says. Or die. When 18 farmers in one village refused to join Sandinista "mass" organizations, they were accused of being *contras* (counter-revolutionaries) and executed by security forces. In other towns, farmers and shop owners simply disappear. Sometimes their bodies are found in a public place, presumably as examples of the fate of *contras*.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) came to power in Nicaragua with the overthrow of dictator Anastasio Somoza in July 1979. It promised free elections, respect for human rights, "political pluralism," and a mixed economy combining "responsible" government control with free enterprise.

Now, after nearly three years of Sandinista rule, Nicaragua has assumed the trappings of a Marxist military dictatorship. The promise of free elections has been ignored. Human rights are being grossly violated by a government that terrorizes, imprisons and kills without compunction. Political pluralism has become a sick joke—nine Marxist *commandantes*, heavily influenced by Cuba, wield the only real power. The government has seized key industries—banking, foreign exchange, fisheries and mining—and its daily threats to seize more are strangling the once-booming economy. By some estimates, more than 100,000 Nicaraguans have fled their country since the FSLN takeover.

The internal agony of Nicaragua is compounded by recent developments of international implication. For example, the Sandinista government has:

Welcomed the help of Cuban, Soviet and other communist-bloc allies to arm and train an army of close to 50,000 men and a militia of 200,000—in a country whose total population (around 2.5 million) is less than that of Los Angeles.

Turned Nicaragua into a training center, transfer point and sanctuary for guerrillas and terrorists from Libya, the Middle East and the rest of Latin America.

Taken an active role in prosecuting the war in El Salvador while funneling weapons and other materials to revolutionaries throughout Central America.

A walk through the marketplaces of Managua or outlying towns reveals a growing sense of hopelessness and fear. Thousands of prisoners languish in overcrowded jails, and the deeply rooted Catholic Church has come under increasing attack. "We overthrew Somoza, but now our revolution has been stolen from us," complains a restaurant worker.

Today more than 5,000 Cubans work in Nicaragua, including 1,500 military and security advisers. Cuban operatives hold key positions throughout the Sandinista government. Other Cubans are advisers and bodyguards of high FSLN officials, operate within the police, in the government-controlled television and radio, and in monitoring the telephone system.

A drab Marxist cosmopolitanism has settled over the country. In the lobby of the Inter-Continental Hotel, Russian technicians and engineers meander about in ill-fitting tropical shirts and sloppy sandals. In the streets one hears the conversation of East Germans, Czechs, Poles, Hungarians and North Koreans—all present in Managua presumably to put "scientific Marxist principles" to work. Leftist terrorists from Argentina, Chile and Colombia help with interrogation and torture, bringing refinements, which have included placing a prisoner in a cell with the decaying bodies of execution victims, or in a barrel filled with ants, or "Operation Sandwich," putting the victim between two thin mattresses on a concrete floor and then beating him with clubs.

"You can't see any bruises," says a man held by the Sandinistas for 11 months without being charged, and tortured repeatedly. "But you are reduced to jelly. You can't even crawl."

The government still boasts that it is "committed to a pluralistic society" and that opposition parties are permitted to organize. However, they may not name candidates—and, of course, there are no elections. "There are many political parties, it is true," says a Managua attorney. "But only

one has its own mountain." He gestures toward a prominent peak overlooking the city. In mammoth block letters, FSLN is spelled across its slope. On the radio, the FSLN anthem (with the words "We fight against the Yankee enemy of humanity") is heard more often than the national anthem. And the blue-and-white Nicaraguan flag is a minor distraction in the panoply of red-and-black FSLN banners that wave all over Managua.

In a speech last August, Defense Minister Humberto Ortega declared: "Marxism-Leninism is the scientific doctrine that guides our revolution. We have not promised the elections that they [the Nicaraguan middle class] think we are going to promote, and we are never going to discuss power." He later made a chilling challenge to the Sandinista militia to draw up lists of "bourgeois" enemies of the government. In time of crisis, he said, "they will be the first to appear hanging along the roads and highways of the country."

This moved business leaders to compose an open letter to the government protesting "a new genocide in Nicaragua for exercising the right to dissent." Three of those who signed the letter were arrested by the Sandinista police and imprisoned for six months.

The Sandinistas take great pains to maintain a facade of dissent and free expression. The *commandantes* hold well-orchestrated "beef" sessions on television every Friday night, during which they answer planted questions and hear the people's complaints. But citizens have learned that they risk both property and personal safety if the complaints go beyond such mundane matters as broken water mains or long lines at government offices.

One of the most effective weapons against dissent is the use of government-organized mobs (*las turbas*). These are generally recruited from the local Sandinista defense committees, groups urged by the government to spy on neighbors and look for "counter-revolutionary activities." *Commandante* Daniel Ortega was moved to elevate them to *las turbas divinas* (the divine mobs.)

*Las turbas* have attacked and demolished the tin-roofed homes of *contras* in the squalid barrios. They have smashed windows, burned cars and painted slogans on the comfortable houses of businessmen and dissenting political leaders. They have destroyed businesses, upset rallies of other political parties, threatened to disrupt Catholic masses and broken up Protestant services with clubs and rocks.

Although Nicaragua still has a handful of independent radio stations, they have been repeatedly harassed and censored. Two of them—Radio Amor and Radio Mi Preferida—were put off the air by *las turbas* last year.

Similarly, the only independent newspaper, *La Prensa*, has been attacked by mobs and shut down by the government six times for reporting news that the Sandinistas felt reflected badly on them. "Outsiders say we still have press freedom," says *La Prensa's* feisty editor, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, Jr. "But press freedom is something on a scale of one to a hundred, and ours is just a little bit up on that scale."

As the FSLN tightens its grip, hopes of a democratic evolution in the Sandinista government have all but disappeared. "Our government is a dictatorship," declared Dr. Jaime Pasquiere, the Sandinista U.N. ambassador to Geneva when he defected last June. "It always will be a dictatorship."

Many Nicaraguans plainly hope that the United States and neighboring nations will somehow aid in delivering them from the FSLN. Says a prominent citizen who has relatives in the government: "We suffered terribly in the war against Somoza, and we want peace. But now I am convinced that our only hope lies in forcing the Sandinistas out."

To accomplish this, thousands of Nicaraguans are prepared to fight. These include native Indians, hundreds of whom have been killed by the FSLN, as well as guerrillas of the Nicaraguan Democratic Union operating along the Honduras border under the legendary Fernando "Blackie" Chamorro. Though he helped overthrow Somoza, Chamorro now feels the revolution was "stolen" by the *commandantes*.

The United States and its partners in the Organization of American States must face the deadly facts of the Sandinista dictatorship and its threat to peace in Central America. To prevent a second Cuba in the Western Hemisphere, organization members must act in concert to support the liberation of Nicaragua by Nicaraguans.

#### NICARAGUAN NEMESIS (By Shirley Christian)

SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA.—The tall young driver with the round, clean-cut face let me out of a jeep in downtown San Jose with the words: "I'll see you soon in Nicaragua." Then, with a smile and a wave, he was on his way back to the semisecret hideout of his chief, Eden Pastora, the legendary Sandinista hero who recently broke nine months of silent exile to make a public condemnation of the nine-man Sandinista National Directorate that rules Nicaragua. In his statement, Pastora accused his former colleagues of running a regime of terror, of making Nicaragua a pawn in the U.S.-Soviet struggle, of aping the Cuban revolution, and of failing to keep their promises to bring political pluralism and other traditional Western liberties to Nicaragua. He demanded that they send home the Cuban military and security personnel now in Nicaragua, adopt laws covering political activities and assuring a mixed economy, cease press censorship, and halt their own extravagant lifestyles.

But how does he intend to make this happen? Pastora is somewhat fuzzy about specifics, except when he's telling you how many Mercedes Benzes or BMWs each of the nine Directorate members has. On the one hand, he makes carefully calculated, diplomatically expressed statements about what the Sandinista Directorate must do to correct its errors. On the other, he jumps to his feet, waves his arms, and threatens to "bury them." He says that either "Humberto Ortega straightens things out, or I'll straighten them out," a reference to the powerful Sandinista army commander, the man who declared six months ago that Marxism-Leninism is the model for the Nicaraguan revolution. "I'm going to enter [Nicaragua] at the head of my people," Pastora told me, and if they are still in the mansions I'm going to take them out at gunpoint. If it weren't for the national literacy crusade, I would dare say to you that it is almost like the time of Somoza. We have more poor people, no less corruption, more foreign debts, less infrastructure, fewer liberties. At least in the time of Somoza we had the liberty to fight. The only thing they have not done is begin to kill massively. . . . But they are repressing the peasants, and when the people realize that

and when the [Sandinista] army realizes that, the army is going to open fire."

Pastora told me that he had hoped Nicaragua would become a lesson for the region in how to conduct a social and economic revolution in political liberty. What the Sandinista leadership is doing instead, he says, is "screwing the Central American revolution."

Judging from what he says and what people working with him have told me, Pastora's hope now is that the numerous supporters he still claims in the Sandinista army will force the National Directorate to change its path, or, if that fails, will overthrow the Directorate. If none of this works, Pastora clearly plans to begin armed operations. He would not be the only force trying to oust the present government. There are already many hundreds of men, perhaps as many as two thousand, launching attacks out of Honduras into northern Nicaragua. Although some of those men were Sandinista supporters who became disillusioned, many are former members of the National Guard, which kept the Somoza dynasty in power for forty-five years—the people against whom Pastora fought for half his life. He says he has no reason to join forces with them because he is still a Sandinista and a revolutionary.

Pastora's coming out has produced a sort of gathering of the clan here—tense and excited Nicaraguans who, like the jeep driver, exude confidence that they will soon go home in triumph. Some left Nicaragua with him last July, while others have been slipping out of Nicaragua in recent weeks. His inner circle includes fifteen to twenty men who were combat leaders in the Southern Front that he operated against the Somoza forces in the 1978-1979 war. Among them is Leonel Poveda, a top Pastora lieutenant in that war who served as a tank driver in the United States Army in Berlin twenty years ago. But Pastora is also attracting a number of prominent civilian non-Marxists, people who were not yet ready last week to announce their support publicly. "We believe Eden is the best card we have to rescue the Nicaraguan revolution," one of them told me. "We would not unite behind any one else."

As Commander Zero, Pastora captured the world's attention and imagination in August 1978, when he led a guerrilla force that took over the legislative palace in downtown Managua, the Nicaraguan capital. He proceeded to negotiate the lives of more than one thousand captives for the freedom of a group of imprisoned Sandinistas, among whom was Tomás Borge, now the Interior Minister and the man responsible for the state security apparatus that Pastora blames for most of the repression in Nicaragua. A photograph of the victorious Pastora waving his rifle at the end of the palace operation became poster art that helped to win worldwide sympathy for the Sandinista National Liberation Front. The palace takeover also made Pastora an instant hero in Nicaragua and served as the second major catalyst in the efforts to unite Nicaraguans against Anastasio Somoza. The first was the assassination in January 1978 of newspaper publisher Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, an act that caused civilian moderates to line up with the largely Marxist-led Sandinista movement.

Pastora is a darkly handsome man of 45. He has a stocky, muscular build, black hair streaked with gray, and a mustache that he has grown since leaving Nicaragua. He has a wife and some children with him in Costa



Rica and admits to having a total of seventeen children but won't say how many mothers are involved. He is sincere and charming, mixing intense expressions of his love of liberty with astute political and military analyses. He says his ideology is Sandinismo, which his supporters say means something approximating social democracy. He also admits to great admiration for Fidel Castro and Che Guevara, but if he has a modern role model, it appears to be the late Panamanian strongman Omar Torrijos. He says it was Torrijos who gave him the heavy gold ring encrusted with sixteen diamonds that he wears on his left hand. Torrijos also taught him that the secret to having international stature while living at peace in a hemisphere dominated by the United States was "to play with the chain but not with the monkey."

Pastora was born into a farming family, but his father was killed when he was seven. People who have known him a long time say the murder resulted from a land feud, but Pastora attributes it to the Somoza regime. He graduated from a Jesuit high school in Managua attended by young men of affluent families. Then he studied medicine in Mexico until he was consumed by a love of arms and opposition to the Somoza family. He organized his own Sandino Revolutionary Front in 1959, but later gravitated to a group that became part of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. In 1974, after three stints in Somoza prisons, he settled into the Costa Rican Caribbean coast town of Barra del Colorado, became a shark fisherman, operated a small electric generating plant, and took out citizenship. But in August 1978 he left it all behind to accept the call of other Sandinistas to do what he says he had been planning in his own mind since 1971: the assault on the palace.

After the Sandinistas took power on July 19, 1979, Pastora was passed over for the top government and military jobs, but moved among various middle-level jobs, including deputy defense minister and head of the Sandinista Popular Militia, a weekend reserve force. Though he was denied the place he felt he deserved on the National Directorate, the nine commanders always brought him out at ceremonial occasions to keep the crowds happy. By most accounts, he was the most beloved Sandinista and the country's greatest hero. He could set off the cheering without saying a word. Last July, just before the Sandinistas' second anniversary in power, Pastora departed the country with about a dozen other former guerrillas and left behind a letter that was interpreted as meaning he was going off Guevara-style to join leftist guerrillas in Guatemala or El Salvador. "I am going to discharge my revolutionary gunpowder against the oppressor in whatever part of the world in which he is found, without it mattering whether they call me Quixote or Sancho," he wrote.

But for the next nine months Pastora apparently did more thinking than shooting, crisscrossing the landscape of revolutionary thought in the process. In addition to Costa Rica, he did his thinking in Panama, Mexico, Cuba, and possibly Venezuela and Libya, hearing out, and sounding off to, the variety of power figures to be found along that route. The Nicaraguans traveling with him, or with whom he made contact from time to time, ranged from at least one Leninist to conservative democrats. Some appeared to have no political feelings, only an intense loyalty to Pastora. Outsiders wondered if he was merely engaged in a personal power struggle with the nine rulers back

in Managua. Or was it ideological? Was he, in fact, about to join the Guatemalan guerrilla group ORPA? Was he somebody's tool? If so, whose? Pastora said nothing, but word eventually came from people around him that his departure letter had not meant what it appeared to say and that his real desire was to change the Marxist-Leninist, pro-Cuban trend of the Nicaraguan revolution to one that was nonaligned and democratic.

When he finally emerged here, the name he invoked was that of Augusto Cesar Sandino, the fierce Nicaraguan nationalist and non-Communist who in the 1930s fought the U.S. Marine occupation of his country and the founding of the Somoza dynasty. It is from Sandino that the Sandinista movement takes its name. "With all that I have said here, I am making clear my disagreement with the conduct of the National Directorate," Pastora said in a printed statement summarizing his complaints, "since continuing in this way means the people will have to pay a very high cost, including a possible return to the past, unless the armed people expel from power those whom the accusing and condemning finger of Sandino singles out as traitors and assassins. . . . With pain I have seen that intranquility, anguish, fear, frustration, and personal insecurity reign among my people. I have seen our Miskito Indians . . . jailed or assassinated, without a press or radio that can denounce to the world this regime of terror that reigns on the Atlantic Coast and in all of Nicaragua through the feared State Security."

Pastora does not criticize Cuba or its leaders, but has admonished the Sandinista Directorate that Nicaraguans want their own revolution, not a borrowed version. "Fifteen days after the triumph in 1979," he said, "I saw Sandinista commanders returning home in Cuban uniforms and I realized at that moment that our revolution was beginning to lose its originality." Pastora says he admires the Cuban leaders because they have tried to carry out their own revolution, not someone else's. Even in calling for the Cuban military and security experts to leave Nicaragua, he did not attack them.

Pastora condemns imperialism repeatedly, but says it includes imperialism by the Soviet bloc as well as the United States. He equates the U.S. role in Vietnam to the Soviet actions in Afghanistan, and the U.S. support for the Salvadoran junta to the Soviet position in Poland, arguing that Nicaragua has no business getting caught up in the East-West dispute. He criticizes Nicaragua's acquisition of used Soviet-made T55 tanks as a step that has helped put Nicaragua into the East-West trap. He says the sending of forty Nicaraguan pilots and twenty technicians to Bulgaria for flight training, as well as the acquisition of too many guns, has had the same effect.

Pastora's proposed government plan reads remarkably like that drawn up here three years ago by the junta of Marxists and moderates that the Sandinista Front created to govern the country, but that had its authority usurped by the nine commanders. The 1979 plan was accomplished by a written commitment to the Organization of American States to call elections and guarantee political and economic pluralism. "I would call capable people—economists, sociologists, doctors, and others—to administer the government, and the military people would go back to their barracks," Pastora told me. "I would have only the minister of defense and maybe the minister of interior in uni-

form. . . . I would demilitarize Nicaragua. The people have a psychosis of arms. You don't have to govern with a rifle."

Pastora says he is not receiving the support of any government or foreign political party, although he flew into Costa Rica on a Mexican plane thought to belong to the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party. He said his financial support, so far, comes from individuals, whom he did not identify. But he said with a smile that he is willing to accept "a peso, or a million, from anywhere—the CIA, the Soviet Union, political parties—as long as it comes without conditions."

In Managua, Pastora's statements were greeted by an outcry of anger and charges of treason and betrayal. Though the National Directorate has had reason to fear this moment since Pastora left Nicaragua, the Sandinista leadership claimed the move was timed to coincide with threatened aggression by the United States or with a U.S.-backed invasion from Honduras. Pastora appeared unsurprised by the reaction in his homeland, saying one of the great errors of the revolution has been its inability to accept criticism. He predicted that mobs would be turned loose to burn him in effigy all over Nicaragua and that the nine commanders would look for a way to kill him. "They are going to call me traitor, ally of the bourgeoisie, ally of U.S. imperialism—yes, they are going to call me that," he said. "But we made the war, and we liberated the people. It does not worry me. The people are not deceived. The people know who I am."

#### THE NICARAGUAN CONNECTION: A THREAT TO CENTRAL AMERICA

##### INTRODUCTION

Nicaragua and the United States enjoyed close ties for over half a century. This relationship ended as the Carter Administration provided tacit support for the Sandinista revolutionaries who ousted the Somoza government in July 1979. The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) came to power then, and the Carter Administration provided Nicaragua with massive financial assistance in efforts to win their friendship. The U.S. continued its attempts to improve bilateral relations and by the end of 1980, the U.S. had become Nicaragua's single largest financial supporter.

But, in spite of this U.S. aid, the Sandinistas remained hostile to the United States and suppressed democratic movements and dissent in Nicaragua. Most alarming, the Sandinistas have forged a Nicaraguan connection which actively arms and trains Marxist-Leninist guerrillas in El Salvador and Guatemala. The Sandinistas have identified their government as a Marxist-Leninist regime and adopted a foreign policy aligned with the Soviet Union. The government has repressed freedom of the press, harassed the Catholic Church and increased human rights violations. The Sandinistas have created the largest military force in Central America, and now poses a military threat to its neighbors.

Following the inauguration of the Reagan Administration, the U.S. suspended bilateral financial assistance to Nicaragua in an effort to stem Sandinista aggression within Central America. This effort, however, has failed to pressure the Sandinistas to cease supplying military and logistical support to the guerrillas in El Salvador and Guatemala. In order for the U.S. to halt Nicaragua's military assistance to the leftist guerrillas in

Central America, the Reagan Administration will have to reassess its current policy and develop a solid strategy aimed at ending the threats to the region posed by the Sandinista regime.

#### THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT

Although the opposition to President Anastasio Somoza Debayle was broadly based, the armed struggle to oust him was directed by the Sandinistas (FSLN). This group, formed in 1961 by several communist activists, is named after a Nicaraguan revolutionary nationalist hero, Augusto Cesar Sandino. The group was composed of three factions: the Marxist-Leninist Prolonged Popular Struggle (GPP), the Trotskyite Proletarian (TP), and the Castroite Terceristas. These three Sandinista splinter groups, which initially were plagued by internal disputes, united in response to Fidel Castro's promise of assistance to a unified Sandinista movement. This led to the formation of the Sandinista National Directorate, incorporating the nine leading commanders of the three FSLN factions, all of whom are self-proclaimed Marxist-Leninist.

In spite of the Sandinistas' radical orientation, the vast majority of Nicaragua's democratic sectors joined efforts with the Sandinistas to depose the Somoza government. This was primarily due to a pact (Punta Arenas) spelled out in a political platform devised by the Sandinista government in exile. This platform affirmed the Sandinistas' commitment to restore a constitutional government through "universal suffrage" for all Nicaraguans; until these elections were held, the government would be composed of individuals with various political ideologies. The platform also promised that the government would adopt an independent foreign policy and give the private sector a major role in the economic activities of the country. (See Appendix I).

However, following the July 1979 collapse of the transitional Nicaraguan government headed by President Urcuyo, the nine commanders within the Sandinista Directorate occupied key ministerial posts and maintained complete authority over the army and security forces.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, these Directorate commanders appointed a majority of FSLN-affiliated members to all branches within Nicaragua's new "revolutionary" government. They also requested and received numerous advisers from Socialist bloc nations. These advisers, primarily from Cuba and the German Democratic Republic, have assumed prominent roles within Nicaragua's army and security forces, education, health, communication and information services.

In spite of the ideological unity within the Directorate, the complex inter-relationships of its members, all of whom rule independently as "President," has brought confusion and a constant struggle for power. Directorate member and Interior Minister Tomas Borge initially emerged as the principal leader of the Nicaraguan government. Borge has since lost considerable power to the Ortega brothers, who also are members of the Directorate: Humberto, who is Defense Minister, and Daniel, who is the Junta leader. Nevertheless, all the Directorate members continue to play a central role in the decision-making process within the Sandinista government.

The Directorate's subordinate five-member Junta initially contained two moderates, Violeta Chamorro and Alfonso

Robelo, both appointed by the Directorate. Both resigned in April 1980, Chamorro allegedly for health reasons and Robelo in protest at the radical Sandinista policies; the Directorate replaced them with two independent Sandinista supporters, Arturo Cruz and Rafael Cordoba Rivas. The Junta was reorganized in March 1981. The new three-man Junta, composed of Sandinistas Daniel Ortega and Sergio Ramirez and "moderate" Rafael Cordoba Rivas, has maintained its dominant Marxist-Leninist composition and continues to take its orders from the Sandinista National Directorate.

Nicaragua's legislative body, the State Council, which "serves as an advisory group to the Junta and the Directorate," is guided and controlled by the Directorate. This chamber has always had a clear majority of Sandinista sympathizers. Nonetheless, the Sandinistas attempted to increase their ratio within the assembly by adding new members and thereby precipitated the November 1980 walk-out of its moderate members. This has given the Sandinistas nearly absolute control over the State Council.

To gain further control over Nicaragua, the Directorate formed the Sandinista Defense Committees and the Sandinista Workers' Federation. Both these base organizations, under Party control, have been used as political tools to deter opposition groups. The Sandinista Defense Committees, modeled after the Cuban Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, were organized throughout Nicaragua as a spy network and used for mass mobilizations. However, these neighborhood committees have not received substantial popular support, even though Nicaraguans must go through them to acquire food subsidies and to obtain drivers' licenses. The Sandinista Workers' Federation, formed to incorporate the Nicaraguan working class into a central labor movement affiliated with the FSLN, has about 60,000 members. Nevertheless, Nicaragua's two independent labor movements, with memberships approaching 40,000, have rejected any affiliation with the Sandinista Party, thus creating friction between these independent unions and the Sandinistas.

In a recent *Wall Street Journal* article, businessmen from the town of Esteli were quoted as saying, "We were all duped," describing how they are discriminated against by Sandinista leaders in obtaining credit and foreign currency from the nationalized banking system. "If I thought for one minute that the Sandinistas would turn the country into another Cuba, I never would have given them my house to use as a base during the war," said a local grocery store owner.<sup>2</sup>

Friction has developed between the Sandinista government and the democratic opposition circles which now includes the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement, the Social Christian Party, the Social Democratic Party and the Democratic Conservative Party. In particular, tensions have grown in anticipation of the electoral process scheduled for 1985. This process, the Sandinistas claim, will take place only to affirm their role as the leaders of the revolution because the FSLN has already been chosen as the "vanguard" of the Nicaraguan people. In the *Wall Street Journal* article, a foreign diplomat saw the future of the electoral process in this manner: "the nine (the nine-man directorate of the Sandinista Liberation Front that controls the country) aren't about to share power with anybody for a long, long time." These comments, along with the Sandinistas' "fraternal" relations

with the Soviet bloc, have placed Nicaragua's planned elections in doubt.

Esteli's experience perhaps best illustrates the reason for the widespread disaffection with the new government. Some 70 percent of Nicaraguans want free elections—which have been postponed by the government—and 64 percent feel that their lives have not improved since 1979. These poll results were published in October 1981, by Nicaragua's only independent newspaper *La Prensa*. The paper was harassed by the Sandinista government, which has prohibited publication of such polls without prior government approval.

#### SANDINISTA FOREIGN POLICY

Since July 1979, the Sandinistas have developed particularly close ties with Fidel Castro, who has provided Nicaragua with at least 5,000 and possibly as many as 10,000 Cuban advisors. The close working relations between the Nicaraguan and Cuban governments have been highlighted by frequent top-level consultations.<sup>3</sup> In addition, the Sandinistas have assumed a Cuban-style "nonaligned" stance within the Third World, supporting the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, while condemning the U.S. military presence in South Korea as "imperialism."

By October 1979, Nicaragua had already established diplomatic relations with Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Vietnam, Mongolia, North Korea, Kampuchea (Heng Samrin), and other communist states. Yet despite the presence of Soviet advisors in Nicaragua, it was not until mid-October 1979 that the Soviet Union sent a delegation headed by Yuri I. Volskii, Soviet Ambassador to Mexico, to establish Soviet-Nicaraguan diplomatic relations. While in Managua, Ambassador Volskii transmitted Leonid Brezhnev's desire "that ambassadorial relations between our countries be restored following the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence and support for the national liberation movements of all peoples."<sup>4</sup>

Five months after establishing relations with Moscow, the Sandinistas sent a high-level mission to the Soviet Union led by Directorate commanders Humberto Ortega, Tomas Borge, and Henry Ruiz. While in the USSR, the Sandinista delegation issued a "joint communique" with their Soviet hosts denouncing the Israeli occupation of all Arab territories and calling for the "legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine." Not surprisingly, the Sandinistas, whose ties to the PLO date back to the 1960s, opened an office for the PLO in Managua with the status of embassy. This feeling of camaraderie between the PLO and the Sandinistas was expressed by the PLO Ambassador to Nicaragua, Marwan Tahbub, in an interview on January 5, 1982, when he said, "ties between the PLO and Nicaragua are based on revolutionary principles and the fact that the two peoples have struggled for their independence and against imperialism."<sup>5</sup>

The Soviet-Nicaraguan joint communique went on to condemn "the campaign . . . launched by the imperialist and reactionary forces . . . aimed at subverting the inalienable right of the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan." Nicaragua, characteristically, abstained from the overwhelming United Nations vote condemning the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. However, the most intriguing development during the Sandinistas' USSR visit was the signing of a party-to-party agreement in the form of

<sup>1</sup>Footnotes at end of article.



a "Joint Communiqué" on March 22, 1980, between the Soviet Communist Party and the FSLN. Such an action usually only takes place between formal communist parties.

In June 1980, only two months after the Soviet tour, Directorate member Tomas Borge led a delegation to North Korea. During this tour, Borge declared to his North Korean hosts that:

"The Nicaraguan revolutionaries will not be content until the imperialists have been overthrown in all parts of the world. The imperialist United States should not believe that they are able to rule South Korea permanently. We stand with the forces of peace and progress, which are the socialist countries. Our strategic goal is clear, our principles are clear, too."<sup>6</sup>

The Sandinistas' anti-U.S. stance was reiterated by Daniel Ortega during his address commemorating the first anniversary of the Sandinista revolutionary victory in Managua on July 19, 1980. During this ceremony, attended by Cuba's Fidel Castro and Grenada's Maurice Bishop, Ortega outlined his government's position on foreign policy issues. This stance included condemning "imperialism" and calling for an end to "the blockade of the heroic Cuban people and the unconditional [U.S.] withdrawal from the Guantanamo Naval Base." Ortega affirmed Nicaragua's solidarity with the "liberation movements" in El Salvador and Namibia, and also praised the Libyan-backed Polisario Front. He expressed his country's support for "the reunification of Korea" and for the "right" of Puerto Rico to "self-determination." He concluded his address by making reference to the upcoming U.S. elections and denouncing "Mr. Reagan, who with his Grand Old Party has become a great witch-hunter."<sup>7</sup>

On August 25, 1981, Directorate Member Humberto Ortega delivered a speech in which he announced that Nicaragua was a part of the "Marxist camp." Ortega claimed that:

"Without Sandinism one cannot be Marxist-Leninist, and Sandinism without Marxism-Leninism cannot be revolutionary. Because of this they are indissolubly united, and therefore our moral force is Sandinism, our political force is Sandinism and our doctrine is Marxism-Leninism."<sup>8</sup>

Following the Sandinista rise to power President Carter immediately released aid that had been approved for the Somoza government but suspended by his Administration. Bilateral aid flowed generously in the next eighteen months, rising to \$170 million by the end of 1980. In addition to bilateral aid, the U.S. voted for all loans to Nicaragua within multilateral institutions, of which the U.S. Government is the single largest shareholder. Just five months after the Sandinistas took power, the World Bank and the International Development Association lent \$30 million to Nicaragua. This was followed by another \$30 million as a World Bank loan in June of 1981. On January 14, 1982, the World Bank approved an additional \$22.8 million to the Sandinista regime. Overall the Sandinistas received more international financial institution support in nineteen months than the Somoza government received in nineteen years.

Despite this aid, Fidel Castro, during the Sandinistas' first anniversary celebrations in Managua, criticized the U.S. for not providing sufficient funds to Nicaragua. Only after the Reagan Administration came into office and the State Department provided evidence demonstrating the Sandinista gov-

ernment's involvement in assisting the Marxist-Leninist guerrillas in El Salvador, was U.S. bilateral aid to Nicaragua curtailed.

The U.S. policy of authorizing no new aid projects to Nicaragua and curtailing the ongoing aid programs—which the Sandinistas have termed as "interventionism, blackmail and Yankee economic aggression"—has had little effect. The suspension of aid has been undermined by the multilateral lending institutions and Mexico, Libya and the USSR have offered Nicaragua increased financial assistance at favorable terms. This recent expansion of financial aid to Nicaragua has included a \$100 million loan from Libya, over \$70 million in loans from the multilateral lending institutions and a \$50 million loan from the Soviet Union. The USSR has also given Nicaragua a \$16 million grant to purchase agricultural machinery and delivered 20,000 tons of wheat. Czechoslovakia has expressed its solidarity with Nicaragua through an agreement of a \$30 million loan for 1982; \$20 million, financed under generous conditions, will go for the building of three textile factories and the other \$10 million will be for the purchase of machinery and equipment for the mining industry and the installation of machine shops. Such actions have undoubtedly hindered U.S. efforts to pressure the Sandinistas to stop their military assistance to the guerrilla forces in Central America and to halt their attempts to militarize Nicaragua.

#### NICARAGUA'S MILITARY BUILD-UP

The Sandinista government, with the assistance and supervision of at least 5,000 Cuban advisors (of which 1,800 to 2,000 are military advisors), and several hundred East German advisors, has built up the Nicaraguan armed forces. The militarization effort announced by the Sandinista leadership in the summer of 1980 will increase the size of the army until it reaches 50,000 members. To date, the Sandinista army has expanded up to an estimated 25,000 active soldiers, and 20,000 well-trained reserves, who can be called up at any time. This is well over 400 percent larger than the former Somoza National Guard, which ranged from 8,000 to 10,000 active and reserve members. This is more than twice the size of Guatemala's 17,000-man army, which traditionally has been the largest army in Central America. In addition to its army, the Sandinista government has organized a "People's Militia" currently numbering 50,000, and designed to eventually incorporate 200,000 persons. This has already made Nicaragua's security apparatus much larger than the security forces of the four remaining Central American countries combined. The size of the army is even more remarkable when one considers that Nicaragua has only 2.6 million inhabitants, or 13 percent of the 19.6 million people of Central America.

To enhance Nicaragua's military capabilities still further, the Sandinista government has acquired sophisticated arms from several Communist bloc nations and France. Sandinista officials, including Directorate member Jaime Wheelock, have recently acknowledged the acquisition of new armaments, including approximately one hundred model T-54 and T-55 Soviet-made tanks and surface-to-air missiles. U.S. State Department officials disclosed that additional military equipment reaching Nicaragua included large quantities of automatic weapons, some of which are being supplied to the guerrillas in El Salvador and Guatemala.

Military assistance from the West has been initiated through a secret agreement between France and Nicaragua, which was signed in December and revealed on January 7, 1982. The \$15.8 million sale, labeled as "purely defensive equipment" by the French Foreign Ministry's office, consisted of two Alouette 3 helicopters, a pair of coastal patrol boats and a dozen military trucks. Not disclosed in the original report was the inclusion of shoulder-fired rocket launchers. The rocket launcher, a bazooka-like weapon, has become a favorite of guerrillas around the world because it can knock out armored vehicles or reinforced buildings from a distance. These are similar to the ones used by Salvadorean guerrillas in a recent attack on the Ilopango Air Base, which destroyed six U.S. UH1H, or Huey, helicopters on loan to El Salvador and six French-built fighter jets.

Claude Cheysson, the French foreign minister, defended his government's sale by asserting that Nicaragua will avoid communist allies only if they find help in the West. U.S. officials described the French position as "naïve." Though complaints were voiced by Secretaries Weinberger and Haig, and an official complaint was registered by U.S. Ambassador Evan Galbraith in Paris, French officials, nevertheless, said the U.S. reaction was not as strong as they had expected.<sup>9</sup>

There are reports indicating that the Sandinista government has lengthened its airfields on the Atlantic coast at Bluefields and Puerto Cabezas to handle fighter jets. In April, the Nicaraguan coast-to-coast highway will be finished, connecting two existing highways to the Pacific coast. This project of 426 kms, has some 200 Cuban and 100 Nicaraguans working on it, using heavy equipment which has been brought from Cuba.

U.S. intelligence reports that Vietnam has agreed to supply Marxist Nicaragua with approximately 1,000 aircraft that would "turn the country into a major Soviet-proxy air force bastion."<sup>10</sup> U.S.-made M-16 rifles and M-79 grenade launchers captured from Leftist rebels in El Salvador, have U.S. serial numbers indicating they were captured by the North Vietnamese forces when South Vietnam was conquered in 1975. Nicaraguan pilots are being trained in Bulgaria, Cuba and other Communist bloc nations. These facts, along with already documented evidence of Soviet-made MIG-23 aircraft in Nicaragua, raise serious security problems for the Hemisphere. Should the full quantity of 1,000 aircraft ever reach Nicaragua from Vietnam, Nicaragua will have the capability of militarily dominating Central America.

The Directorate Defense Minister, Humberto Ortega, pointed out during a June 4, 1981 press conference that, "We [Sandinistas] are strengthening our defense, and we are prepared to operate tanks, to operate planes, cannon and different kinds of weapons."<sup>11</sup> While the Sandinistas claim that their military build-up is intended for defense only, observers maintain that the closest nation capable of posing a direct military threat to Nicaragua is Mexico, a country supportive of the Sandinista revolution.

The most serious concerns to Nicaragua's Central American neighbors is not military inferiority, but rather the assistance the Sandinistas have been providing to the insurgency movements in El Salvador and Guatemala. This assistance, which has been documented by the U.S. Department of State and reaffirmed by Sandinista defec-

tors, has included training guerrillas and supplying them with logistical support, personnel, weapons and ammunition.<sup>12</sup> In addition, Nicaragua has become a strategic transfer location for Cuban troops entering El Salvador to assist that country's Marxist-Leninist guerrillas.<sup>13</sup> Thus, Central American nations fear that Nicaragua has become Cuba's center for subversion in Central America.

Guatemala is planning to triple its armed forces this year to 60,000 men "to combat communist subversion more effectively," according to General Manuel Benedicto Lucas Garcia, Army Chief of Staff, who pointed to the apparent threat posed by Nicaragua's goal of a 200,000-man militia and 60,000-man army. In order to achieve this goal, a strict military draft and recruiting campaign has been planned in Guatemala.

#### NICARAGUA'S FALTERING ECONOMY

During the Sandinistas' two years in office, the Nicaraguan government bureaucracy has expanded at a rate that threatens to bankrupt the country's economy. The growth of the Sandinista government is highlighted by eight ministries formed in the aftermath of the revolution and a rapidly expanding security and military apparatus. Consequently, the government's budget increased by over 250 percent in 1980. To meet the financial requirements for the enlarged budget, the Sandinistas have rescheduled payments of the country's foreign debt, increased the monetary supply, restructured the tax system and have become increasingly dependent on foreign financial assistance.

Early in 1980, the Sandinista government renegotiated payment of their inherited foreign debt held by the international private financial community in order to halt the outflow of foreign exchange. The terms of this negotiation stipulated that the Sandinista government would resume payments of its foreign debts in 1986. Similarly, the Sandinistas were granted a five-year period of grace on interest payments of this debt. A financial observer predicts that this debt will have to be renegotiated in 1986 to avoid default.

The Sandinista policy of increasing the country's money supply has created an abundance of currency which increased inflation and caused a scarcity of consumer products. This policy has had a severe impact among Nicaragua's poor; the cost of food products has more than doubled since the Sandinistas assumed power. The 30 percent wage increase decreed by the Sandinistas for Nicaragua's rural poor population was offset by a rural inflation estimated at over 60 percent.<sup>14</sup> In July 1981, Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega conceded that inflation had consumed the wage increases and concluded that to attain the anticipated minimum wage for the poor, "we must first increase productivity."<sup>15</sup> Although recognizing the need to increase productivity, the Sandinista policies have restrained economic growth.

In 1980, the Sandinistas restructured Nicaragua's tax law in order to acquire a larger number of contributors and increase progression of the tax system. The Sandinistas also imposed a tax to set up an unemployment fund by directly taking the yearly employee salary referred to as "Christmas bonus" from all Nicaraguans earning over 1,500 cordobas per month (U.S. \$150 at the official exchange rate).

Besides these policies devised to increase the government's financial resources, external funding sources have made available

over \$1.3 billion to the Sandinistas since July 1979. In spite of this foreign assistance, the Sandinista government's deficits have been increasing as a result of a combination of government expansion costs and a reduction in productivity.

In September 1981, Daniel Ortega, upon returning to Nicaragua from a fundraising tour to Libya and the USSR, imposed a "state of national economic and social emergency" to alleviate the government's financial crisis. This decree outlawed strikes and prohibited unauthorized price increases by imposing a one to three year prison sentence for those individuals violating these measures. Under the law, someone can be "arrested on suspicion" of "economic sabotage," which includes the publishing of economic data affecting "state security." The decree also ordered the government to cut its budget by 10 percent, reduce its food and transportation subsidies by 10 percent, impose a 30 to 100 percent tax on all imports classified as luxury items and freeze all of its hiring.<sup>16</sup>

Despite this decree, the Sandinista government bureaucracy has already drained a large portion of Nicaragua's work force, incorporating them into the army or other government-affiliated organizations. This has been particularly troublesome for Nicaragua's agricultural productivity, where a labor shortage became critical after the Central American migrating farmers refused to work in Nicaragua during harvest season. This cutoff of a traditional source of agricultural labor in Nicaragua was sparked by the declining value of the cordoba, currently worth less than 40 percent of its official rate. The labor shortages coupled with the Sandinistas' mismanagement of expropriated private sector operations have reduced Nicaragua's output.

In fact, the country's vital agricultural harvest has decreased by approximately 50 percent since the Sandinistas assumed power. The cultivated area of Nicaragua's two most important export earning crops, cotton and coffee, has shrunk drastically. Furthermore, both of these crops, representing 50 percent of Nicaragua's export income, have been affected by declining market prices. Output within the country's third largest export source, the cattle industry, has also diminished due to the massive slaughter and export of livestock during the revolution. Other agricultural products are primarily for domestic use. Sugar, rice, beans and corn, which Nicaragua had previously exported or at least attained self-sufficiency, are now in such short supply they have been imported.

Thus far, the Sandinista expropriations of private sector operations have given the Nicaraguan government control of over 50 percent of the country's economic activity. Although continuing to nationalize private sector operations, the Sandinistas have in certain instances returned run-down farms to the private sector after the deterioration of some of these businesses under government control. However, the government has not issued new land titles to anyone. The Sandinistas have kept banking, insurance, and mining operations under government control.

#### GROWING SANDINISTA OPPOSITION

Nicaragua's economic crisis, coupled with the government's radical policies, have generated mass dissatisfaction with the Sandinista regime. This opposition has emanated from several groups: the Catholic Church, the independent media, the private sector, democratic circles and the vast majority of

the Atlantic coast population. These groups previously assisted in deposing the Somoza government, but now see their country drifting toward a totalitarian state under the control of "Soviet imperialism."

Nicaragua's powerful Catholic Church, under the leadership of the Archbishop of Managua, Miguel Obando y Bravo, has vehemently criticized the leftist trend of the Sandinista government. At a Latin American Episcopal Congress (CELAM) meeting in Bogota, Columbia, on November 16, 1981, Archbishop Obando y Bravo stated the Nicaraguan government is governed by Cubans and not by the junta. He charged that key positions in the Nicaraguan government were occupied by men close to Fidel Castro and that the regime is totalitarian and Marxist-Leninist. His remarks were not reported in the American media, but were picked up by several international wire services including Agence France Press. In January of this year, during a press conference in New York, the Archbishop stated that the "Nicaraguans no longer believe in the Sandinista Leaders," and added "there is no doubt that the governments of Nicaragua has good relations with the governments of the Soviet Union and Cuba."<sup>17</sup>

Responding to a decree by Pope John Paul II, the Archbishop requested members of the clergy, such as Father Miguel D'Escoto to resign from their posts in the revolutionary junta and return to their apostolic ministry. Father D'Escoto (Nicaragua's Foreign Minister) together with other churchmen who hold government positions answered the Archbishop's request with a joint statement affirming their "unbreakable commitment to the popular Sandinista revolution in loyalty to our people, which is the same as saying, in loyalty to the will of God. We will continue in whatever place our presence might be necessary."<sup>18</sup>

Shortly afterwards, during his June 1981 visit to Italy, the Archbishop of Managua declared "that after two years of hope, our revolution is drifting toward Marxism according to the Cuban model." Archbishop Obando y Bravo also criticized the Cuban advisors in Nicaragua, whom he claims "are among us with an arrogant attitude" in spite of the country's "economic difficulties."<sup>19</sup> For his criticism of the Sandinistas, the Archbishop's Sunday mass, aired on television for many years, was suspended. Furthermore, Archbishop Obando y Bravo was labeled as "the principal force of the counterrevolution" by Father D'Escoto in an interview published in the Mexican publication *El Periodico*.

Father D'Escoto's interview, which was republished in Nicaragua's most widely circulated and only independent newspaper, *La Prensa*, led to the paper's closure for forty-eight hours in July 1981.<sup>20</sup> *La Prensa* has been closed down by the Sandinista government many times since for publishing "counterrevolutionary" material. D'Escoto (he is no longer addressed as Father) visited the Soviet Union in December 1981 in an official capacity on behalf of the Nicaraguan government. He began his visit in Leningrad and stated:

"I am arriving on an official visit with the objectives that through this visit the friendly and fraternal ties with this noble government and between the people of Nicaragua and the Soviet Union be strengthened more and more.

"I believe that especially for Nicaraguans, and also for any knowledgeable person, being in Leningrad is a kind of pilgrimage. One feels that one has come to a holy land,



where the people have heroically defended their gains. I am talking about the 900-day siege and also of the fact that this city is the birthplace of the Soviet revolution. Thus, one is moved, as I was moved. It is a beautiful way to start a visit to this great nation, through Leningrad."

Finally, he charged that:

"No one but the United States interferes in the internal affairs of the Central American state, where a people's revolution is going on."

"North American imperialism, once used our territory for the invasion of Guatemala and Cuba. It has been ended now. The United States can no longer use us against fraternal Latin American countries. Nicaragua does not want to be a puppet".<sup>21</sup>

In spite of its major role in the downfall of Somoza, this newspaper has come under severe harassment and censorship by the Sandinistas, who currently are considering closing down *La Prensa* indefinitely. *La Prensa* is the only independent, non-government newspaper in Managua; its circulation of 75,000 is twice the combined total of the government-run newspapers. All three papers are administered by the Chamorro family, making *La Prensa*, the only one within their control. Recently, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro Barrios, son of the newspaper's assassinated editor, charged that the Sandinistas are trying to do what the late dictator Anastasio Somoza tried to do, shut *La Prensa* down. "Isn't it ironic that both Somoza and the Sandinistas are trying to do the same thing?" said Pedro Joaquín.

A number of radio news programs charged by the Sandinista government with having "broadcast news harmful to the Armed Forces," have been shut down in Nicaragua recently. The latest victim was Radio Mundial's program "Hoy," or Today. This was the fifth news program ordered off the air by the Sandinista regime since it took power in 1979. A coalition of four anti-government parties, the Democratic Coordination, protested the government's action calling it a violation of the "Nicaraguan people's right to be informed."

The Sandinistas have also harassed and intimidated other opposition groups such as the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement. This movement, incorporating a large sector of non-Marxists who helped overthrow Somoza, has become increasingly critical of Sandinista policies leading toward Soviet domination of Nicaragua. This group, which had been unable to receive government permission to hold a party mobilization since mid-1980, was finally granted Sandinista approval to hold a rally on March 15, 1981. However, this rally was cancelled on March 14 by the movement's leader, former Junta member Alfonso Robelo, after a Sandinista youth group ransacked the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement's headquarters, stoned homes belonging to members affiliated to it, attacked people distributing leaflets for the rally and then threatened the rally with more violence. Directorate member Tomas Borge, who granted permission for this party event, laid the blame of the violence on the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement for "provoking" the people with counterrevolutionary views.<sup>22</sup> In October 1981, Sandinista authorities detained Robelo and confiscated his passport as he attempted to flee Nicaragua.

The Nicaraguan Permanent Human Rights Commission headed by Jose Esteban Gonzalez has become a target of frequent acts of intimidation by the Sandinista government. This group, used extensively by

the Sandinistas during the revolution when it recorded human rights violations committed by the Somoza government has, since July 1979, become an increasingly unacceptable annoyance to the Sandinista government. Since the Sandinistas assumed power, the Commission has revealed that summary executions, torture, harassment of the press and of opposition political groups, confiscation of private property and deportation are common human rights violations perpetuated by the current Nicaraguan government. During his European tour, Jose Esteban Gonzalez reported that Nicaraguan jails still hold eight thousand "prisoners of conscience." For his remarks in Europe, Gonzalez was arrested upon his return to Nicaragua early in 1981 and released only after the Venezuelan government exerted economic pressure on the Sandinista government. He is now in exile in Venezuela.

Nicaragua's private sector, organized under an umbrella organization known as the Superior Council for Private Enterprise (COSEP), has constantly complained about the radical policies pursued by the Sandinistas creating a lack of confidence in the country's political and economic future, elements vital for private investment. For such criticism, members of the Nicaraguan business community, who played an essential role in overthrowing Somoza's government through its "crippling strikes," have been branded as "counterrevolutionaries" exploiting the masses for which they have been persecuted by the Sandinista security forces. This persecution includes the assassination of the vice president of COSEP, Jorge Salazar, who was shot to death by government security forces minutes after Salazar had presided over a COSEP meeting. The government justified the murder by calling him a "counterrevolutionary." Since this incident, some 20,000 businessmen, technicians, and professionals have fled from Nicaragua. Understandably businesses have suffered dramatic decreases in productivity.

On October 20, 1981, COSEP published an open letter criticizing Humberto Ortega's statement that the Sandinista government could "in a matter of hours," take over everything that "the bourgeoisie still possesses." The letter accused the government of egregious economic mismanagement, and the Sandinistas' "doctrine of Marxism-Leninism," for the country's deepening economic crisis. The Sandinista government quickly reacted to this letter; by midnight of the same day, state security forces arrested four COSEP leaders in their homes for "violation of the economic and social emergency law." Three of those arrested were sentenced to seven months in jail on October 30. They were Enrique Dreyfus, President of Higher Council for Private Enterprise, Benjamin Lanzas, President of the Chamber of Construction, and Gilberto Cuadra, President of the Federation of Nicaraguan Professionals. Similar sentences were handed down to three other businessmen who fled into exile in Venezuela and the U.S. This left the private sector of Nicaragua leaderless, and with few anti-Sandinista individuals willing to assume such a risky role. Under continued international pressure, the Sandinistas finally released the COSEP leaders on February 14. Daniel Ortega called together 250 business executives to announce that the sentences had been commuted.

#### EAST COAST DISSENTION

Nicaragua's Atlantic region inhabitants, in the true spirit of Augusto Cesar Sandino

who was ideologically opposed to Marxism-Leninism and any type of foreign military presence in his country, have rejected the Cubans and through them the Sandinista government. Although the Atlantic region of Nicaragua covers one-third of the country's territory, its population of three indigenous communities—the Miskitos, the Sumos and the Ramas—barely reach 200,000. Shortly after the Sandinistas came to power, they opened an office in Managua incorporating leading members of these three communities under the name of Misurasata.

Tension began building between the Atlantic region's inhabitants and the Sandinistas over the arrival of Cuban teachers, doctors and military advisors early in 1980. The local people started to voice concern and disapproval over the growing military presence in the region, the lessons taught by the Cuban teachers and the incompetence of the Cuban doctors. In February 1981, the Sandinistas arrested Miskito leader Stedman Fagoth along with thirty-two other leaders of Nicaragua's Atlantic community. This led to violent incidents inflicting casualties among the region's local, Sandinista and Cuban populace.<sup>23</sup> Since this episode, as many as 20,000 Miskitos, Ramas and Sumo Indians including Fagoth, have fled across the Nicaraguan border into Honduras. The Miskitos' dissatisfaction with the Sandinistas were heard in Washington during mid-1981, when Fagoth arrived in the United States to plead for assistance against the communists in his country. Fagoth's requests were not answered by the Administration. In February 1982, he returned to the U.S. and presented new charges against the militia of the Sandinistas, alleging human rights violations. (See Appendix II.)

In early January of this year, reports that Nicaraguan troops had crossed the border into Honduras and had murdered up to 200 Miskito Indians of the 20,000 who have fled into Honduras, prompted a formal complaint from Honduras' foreign relations secretary Colonel Cesar Elvir Sierra. He cited eyewitness reports that the Nicaraguan troops killed at least 200 Miskito Indians around New Year's Eve, and that in the days prior to and following the incident Nicaraguan patrol vessels had seized several Honduran fishing vessels in Honduran territorial waters. Nicaragua's Foreign Affairs Minister Miguel d'Escoto denied the incident and charged that rightists who were followers of the late President Anastasio Somoza had attacked Nicaraguan border patrols and killed 150 Nicaraguan soldiers. Both reports are still under investigation.<sup>24</sup>

Repression against the clergy in the Atlantic region has also been reported. On January 13, 1982, three sisters of the order of St. Agnes, who worked in Puerto Cabezas, and two Capuchin brothers working in Waspan, were taken to Managua and were expelled by the Sandinistas. On January 16, Interior Minister Tomas Borge admitted the incident had been inappropriately handled and stated that the clergy could return to Nicaragua. The Bishops Conference released a statement concerning the incident on January 25, hoping that similar incidents would not occur to the remainder of the missionaries and "God's people on the Atlantic coast." Unconfirmed reports of five Moravian ministers jailed in the region by the Sandinista militia and accusations of orders to capture and kill remaining Moravian ministers are under investigation. An incident of assault on a Catholic bishop last

October, which was not reported by the press, is also under investigation.<sup>25</sup>

#### MILITARY OPERATIONS AGAINST THE SANDINISTAS

The Sandinistas have encountered their strongest opposition from two militant organizations, the Nicaraguan Democratic Front and the National Liberation Army. Both groups have formed major guerrilla networks to carry out military operations against the Sandinista government and their communist advisors. The Nicaraguan Democratic Front claims to have over 2,000 armed individuals organized into cells throughout Nicaragua. This group is made up primarily of civilians who opposed and fought Somoza and have now grown disillusioned with the Sandinista regime. The National Liberation Army is an anti-communist guerrilla network composed primarily of former lower rank guardsmen, who along with their collaborators within Nicaragua, have carried out raids against Sandinista posts.

These guerrilla organizations propose to destabilize and depose the Marxist-Leninist Sandinista government and, if successful, install a true democracy in Nicaragua. Although both groups have harassed the Sandinista regime, their forces are much smaller and weaker than the huge, well-equipped army of the government. Also it should be noted that this military opposition only arose in response to repressive Sandinista actions.

#### U.S. POLICY TOWARD NICARAGUA

During the Carter years, American policy attempted to build friendship with the Sandinistas. To this end, the Carter Administration, which had assisted in deposing the Somoza and Urcuyo governments, offered financial and diplomatic support to the Sandinistas. By the end of President Carter's term in office, the U.S. had delivered to the Sandinistas \$170 million in bilateral aid, and, according to Arturo Cruz, had become Nicaragua's "main source" of financial assistance. In addition to bilateral aid, the U.S. voted for all loans to Nicaragua within the multilateral lending institutions. Yet this aid failed to prompt favorable comments about the United States from the Sandinistas. In fact, Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega revealed his rationale for demanding U.S. financial assistance in May 1980 by claiming:

"What Nicaragua knows is that when we were fighting against Somoza, the USSR was supporting the Nicaraguan people. . . . And now we have relations with the Soviets and they are seeking ways to help us. . . . They are seeking ways to have the United States pay us for the great harm they have done us. . . . One must note that this is a historic debt that the U.S. Government owes to the Nicaraguan people."<sup>26</sup>

Only after the Reagan Administration came into office and provided evidence collected by the Carter Administration demonstrating the Sandinista government's involvement in assisting the Marxist-Leninist guerrillas in El Salvador, was U.S. bilateral aid to Nicaragua terminated. The U.S. policy to stop authorizing new aid projects to Nicaragua and curtailing the on-going aid programs, which the Sandinistas have termed as "interventionism, blackmail and Yankee economic aggression," has been ineffective.

In yet another attempt initiated in August 1981, Thomas Enders, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, went to Managua and offered to resume U.S. bilat-

al aid to Nicaragua if the Sandinistas would cease furnishing the Salvadorean guerrillas with military supplies. The Sandinistas ignored the Enders proposal, and continue to offer military support to the guerrillas in Central America. In order to meet the Sandinista challenge, the United States will have to devise a tougher policy.

#### U.S. POLICY INITIATIVES

The overall U.S. policy toward Nicaragua should attempt to halt the Sandinistas' military assistance to the guerrilla forces in the Central American region, slow down Nicaragua's militarization efforts and ultimately change the fundamental character of this Marxist-Leninist regime into a genuine democracy emerging out of a free, pluralistic society. This can best be achieved by a four-pronged policy:

(1) Economic pressures: The United States should exert economic pressure against the Sandinista regime by withholding U.S. support within the multilateral lending institutions for all loans to Nicaragua. This would make it difficult for Nicaragua to receive "soft loans" from the Inter-American Development Bank, in which the U.S. has a tacit veto power. Similarly, this policy would make it tough for Nicaragua to attain loans from other multilateral institutions such as the World Bank. In addition, the Reagan Administration should totally terminate all U.S. bilateral aid programs to the Nicaraguan government and encourage Western European and Latin American nations, particularly Mexico, to do likewise.

(2) Arms interdiction: To diminish the arms movements out of Nicaragua, the United States should provide El Salvador with effective detection equipment. This would include radar tracking equipment requested by President Duarte in October 1981 to spot night flight operations between Nicaragua and El Salvador. It should train and provide the Salvadorean Navy with gunships to control the arms and guerrilla smuggling through the Gulf of Fonseca. In addition, it should provide equipment and training to set up a Central American surveillance task force with rapid reaction capability to seize the smuggled military supplies going to El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. This surveillance team would also ensure that stockpiles of weapons in Costa Rica are destroyed or removed from that country since it has no army. If the arms flow cannot be curtailed by these means, then serious consideration should be given to a naval blockade on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. This naval blockade should be in cooperation with naval forces from Honduras, Panama, Venezuela, and Mexico, together with other Latin American navies willing to participate in stemming the tide of weapons.

(3) Promoting democratic groups: The United States should also exploit the Nicaraguan population's growing disenchantment with the Sandinista government by supporting all of the Nicaraguan opposition groups with a democratic orientation. Pressure should not be lifted until the Sandinistas open up the political system to allow the participation of all parties. If a constitutional government is not established in Managua, as promised, by the Sandinistas in their initial political platform, the U.S., in coordination with its Latin American allies, should offer clandestine support to Nicaragua's anti-Sandinista militant forces. Only by supplying them with weapons and other provisions for guerrilla warfare can the opposi-

tion effectively challenge the Sandinista regime if its repressive policies continue.

(4) Human rights violations: An investigation should be carried out concerning human rights violations by the Sandinista regime towards all factions which oppose it. An investigative task force consisting of members of the Organization of American States should be sent to Nicaragua to report on human rights violations. Hearings should be scheduled as soon as possible in the U.S. Congress concerning allegations of brutality and human rights abuses perpetrated by the Sandinista militia, particularly against the Miskito population in the Atlantic coast region.

#### CONCLUSION

The Nicaraguan connection, through which the Sandinista government supplies and supports subversive activities in Central America, makes Nicaragua's problems regional. A concentrated effort of the United States in cooperation with the OAS could mobilize the necessary forces to sever the connection and end the political and military threat which Nicaragua now poses toward its neighbors. This joint effort should be backed by Western European countries, Japan, and all other nations which profess a commitment to democracy. The Sandinistas have brought on themselves regional and domestic crises through their policies. By adopting a Marxist-Leninist ideology, they have betrayed the ideals of the revolution, which were for a pluralistic government democratically elected by the people. By becoming a land base exporting guerrilla warfare, the Sandinistas are threatening the sovereignty of their neighbors.

The Nicaraguan people no longer openly support the Sandinista regime. This would be proved if the Sandinistas were to allow a free political choice through open democratic elections. The freedom of choice by the Nicaraguan people should be exercised on the basis of the system initially outlined by the Sandinistas when they took power. Just as international public opinion calls for the people of Poland to decide their own future, so must the international community support the people of Nicaragua. Every other country in Central America is holding elections this year, often under difficult circumstances. The Sandinistas should do the same. Should the threat from Nicaragua remain unchecked, the United States soon will confront its most serious Central American security problem of the past century. The Soviet Union refuses to allow liberty to expand in Eastern Europe; the United States should at least as steadfastly oppose the growth of totalitarian regimes aligned to the Soviet Union in the Western Hemisphere.

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(Much of the initial research on this paper was completed by Alexander Kruger who preceded Mr. Araujo as Latin American Affairs analyst at the Heritage Foundation.)

#### Appendix I

The Sandinista political platform as issued on July 12, 1979, by the provisional Sandinista government in exile:

1. A political area whose main aspects include the commitment on the part of the government junta to:

1.1 Install a regime of democracy, justice and social progress in which there is full guarantee for the right of all Nicaraguans to political participation and universal suffrage. It is based on a state organization



that will be comprised of an executive branch, a legislative branch through a council of state comprised of 33 members from the nation's broadest political and military sectors and a judiciary branch;

1.2 Guarantee the full exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms;

1.3 Organize a new army comprised of the combatants of the FSLN, the soldiers and officers who served honestly and patriotically in the face of the plans of the dictatorship and those who joined the struggle to overthrow the Somozist regime; and

1.4 Observe an independent foreign policy that relates our country with all nations that respect self-determination and just and mutually profitable economic relations.

2. An economic area whose basic objectives, in addition to attending to the needs of the nation's emergency and reconstruction, will pursue the following fundamental aspects:

2.1 External transformation in key sectors of the economy, such as the financial system, agrarian reform, organization of domestic and foreign commerce and the necessary changes in the rural and urban areas;

2.2 Organization of a mixed economy in which a state area with social property of precise extent and clearly delimited characteristics, a private area and a third area characterized by joint investment and coordinated by the public and private sectors will coexist;

2.3 Creation of an office dealing with state and social property and action;

2.4 Compliance with foreign debt commitments and, at the same time, reorganizing and renegotiating its terms;

2.5 Accepting international donations not subject to conditions or limitations that harm national dignity or sovereignty, the use and destination of which will be subject to the strictest control;

2.6 Substantial adjustment in the organization and operation of the private financial system with the depth and proceedings that are necessary;

2.7 Promotion of foreign investment oriented toward playing a complementary role with domestic efforts. For this, clear lines will be established regarding its treatment, acquiring of [word indistinct], industrial property and so forth; and

2.8 Guarantees and full respect for properties and activities of the private sector that are not directly affected by the measures set forth in this program.

3. A social area whose main objective will be that of opening to all Nicaraguans the true possibility of improving living standards through the establishment of a policy that will tend to eradicate unemployment and that will guarantee the right to housing, health, social security, efficient public transportation, education, culture, sports and [word indistinct]. It will be a regime of economic austerity in view of the state of destruction in which the Somozist regime has left the nation. But it is sought to implement specific action in the following social areas:

3.1 Jobs and family income;

3.2 Nutrition, which contemplates the creation of a single national health system;

3.3 Education, where measures will be implemented to reform the objectives and contents of national education; and

3.4 Housing, where a true urban reform will be undertaken as emergency programs are implemented for the reconstruction of homes in the zones affected by the genocidal bombardments of the Somozist dictatorship; and

4. Finally, an area of institutional reorganization whose fundamental objective will be the rationalization of the functions of the public administration, preventing an excessive bureaucracy while establishing an economic and social system that will assure the execution of the programs and projects of the Government of National Reconstruction.

#### Appendix II

Report of human rights violations against the Miskito population in the Atlantic region of Nicaragua, as reported by Miskito leader Stedman Fagoth, on January 18, 1982. This account is of incidents recorded from December 1981 to January 18, 1982.

1. December 23, 1981 the community of San Carlos, Rio Coco was bombed. Sixty Miskitos died and 100 were injured.

2. December 26, in the city of Bluefields the Sandinistas incarcerated 30 persons. They killed a young man who spoke English for the mere fact that he would not join the militia. The majority of the youth have fled into the mountains refusing to join the militia.

3. December 26, in the community of Assang, the government built a military air base. They captured and jailed all of the 82 Masmoras of the community.

4. The village of San Carlos is being occupied by 150 militia of which 75 are Cubans. They are forcing the population to dig trenches. If they do not, they will be denied food. The community is living as in a prison as the military does not permit them to go out of the village.

5. In the community of Leymus the government captured 80 persons; in the community of Assang they captured another 35 persons; in the community of Krassa they captured 24 persons. And in the community of Waspuc they captured 12. These were all shot to death except for four in the community of Leymus who were buried alive.

6. Sandy Bay is occupied by 300 militia who captured 40 persons, taking them to the concentration camp in Puerto Cabezas.

7. Bilwaskarma is also a militarized zone. The hospital was closed and turned into a military fort. An unknown number of persons were sent to Puerto Cabezas. Among the people captured was Barbara Diaz, daughter of the Reverend Silvio Diaz, a Moravo Minister.

8. In the community of Raity there are 200 militia, in Aniwas there are 300 and in Walakitan there are another 300.

9. When the communists of the FSLN discover that a Miskito Indian instead of following orders to execute other Miskitos, fires bullets into the air—they bind his feet and his hands and will throw him into the River Coco.

10. From the community of Siksary to the community of Cum the area has been deserted. All fled to Honduras: about 20 thousand Miskito Indians, among them women, children and elderly.

The following communities have been abandoned by the Miskito Indians: Siksary, Andres Tara, Santa Isabel, Krassa, Santa Esquipulas, Sang Sang, Kitasqui, Krin Krin, Pilpilila, Namasca, Wiwinak, Esperanza, Santa Fe, Wirapajni, Pransa, San Jeronimo, Bulsirpi, Wiswis, Ipritigni, Laguantara, Kisalaya, Bilwaskarma, Uhry, Tanisca, Kaurotigni y Klisnac.

11. Orders have been given by the Sandinistas to capture all Moravo ministers and to shoot them.

12. The militia will transport the people they find along the highways or in small huts, to concentration camps in Tasbayara.

13. The following communities were burnt to the ground by the FSLN: Esperanza, Ipritigni, San Jeronimo, Pransa, Wirapajni, Bulsirpi y el Carmen.

14. The Voice of Nicaragua, which is the communist radio, is launching a propaganda campaign of confusion, saying that former National Guards are the ones killing the Miskitos and stealing their cattle. They are urging the Indians to return to their communities so that they will be captured and sent to concentration camps.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> The nine commanders, the factions and positions in the government are as follows: The GPP (Spanish initials) Directorate, consisting of: Tomas Borge (Minister of the Interior), Henry Ruiz (Minister of Planning), and Bayardo Arce (Propaganda Chief); Proletarian; Luis Carrion (Vice-Minister of Defense), Jaime Wheelock (Minister of Agriculture), and Carlos Nunez (President of the State Council); and Terceiristas: Daniel Ortega (Junta Coordinator), Humberto Ortega (Minister of Defense), and Victor Tirado (Minister without portfolio and Economic Supervisor).

<sup>2</sup> Lynda Schuster, "Fading Dreams," Wall Street Journal, January 15, 1982.

<sup>3</sup> Italy's daily newspaper Il Tempo, on June 27, 1981, reported that Fidel Castro had made some forty secret trips to Managua since the July 1979 Sandinista victory.

<sup>4</sup> "Soviet Delegation Visits, Diplomatic Relations Established," Managua Domestic Service 0400 GMT, October 19, 1979.

<sup>5</sup> "PLO Ties with Nicaragua," Barricada in Spanish, January 5, 1982, p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> UPI wire story, Tokyo, June 9, 1980.

<sup>7</sup> "Junta Member Ortega's Address," Managua Domestic Service 1750 GMT, July 19, 1980, FBIS.

<sup>8</sup> "Nicaragua Admits: It Is Really Marxist," O Estado de S. Paulo, October 10, 1981.

<sup>9</sup> "France Reportedly to Sell Rockets to Nicaragua," The Washington Post, December 28, 1982.

<sup>10</sup> Intelligence Digest, Weekly Review, November 25, 1981.

<sup>11</sup> Alma Guillermoprieto, "Nicaraguan Tells of Arms Efforts," The Washington Post, June 5, 1981.

<sup>12</sup> "Communist Interference in El Salvador, Documents Demonstrating Communist Support of the Salvadoran Insurgency," U.S. Department of State, February 23, 1981.

<sup>13</sup> Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, "Bridge Over the River Lempa," The Washington Post, October 19, 1981.

<sup>14</sup> Christopher Wenner, "Nicaragua's Fortunes Have Begun to Pinch," The San Diego Union, May 3, 1981.

<sup>15</sup> "Daniel Ortega Address," Managua Radio Sandino 1652 GMT, July 4, 1981, FBIS.

<sup>16</sup> "Nicaragua Junta Declares State of Emergency," The Wall Street Journal, September 11, 1981.

<sup>17</sup> El Diario de Hoy, December 1981, San Salvador.

<sup>18</sup> James Nelson Goodsell, "Nicaraguan Priests Told 'Quit Politics,'" The Christian Science Monitor, June 22, 1981.

<sup>19</sup> "Archbishop Says Revolution Moving Toward Marxism," San Jose, Radio Reloj 1730 GMT, June 20, 1981.

<sup>20</sup> Alma Guillermoprieto, "Struggle between Sandinistas and Press Heats Up," The Guardian, August 24, 1981.

<sup>21</sup> Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Concludes Visit, Moscow in Spanish to Latin America, 2300 GMT, December 14, 1981; and Moscow TASS in English, 1835 GMT, December 15, 1981.

<sup>22</sup> Al Kamen, "Sandinista Mob Action Thwarts Rally by Opposition," The Washington Post, March 16, 1981.

<sup>23</sup> Shirley Christian, "Discontent Grows on Nicaragua's East Coast," The Washington Post, August 26, 1981.

<sup>24</sup> "Elvir Sierra Lodges Complaint Against Nicaragua," Buenos Aires LATIN in Spanish 1855 GMT, January 8, 1982; (Reuters) Wire Story from Tegucigalpa, January 4, 1982; Managua, Nicaragua, January 16, 1982; and (Reuters) Wire Story.

<sup>25</sup> "Borge Says Deported Priest, Nuns, Can Return," Paris AFP in Spanish 0315 GMT, January 22, 1982; Bishop's Communique, Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish, 1200 GMT, January 25, 1982.

<sup>26</sup> "Daniel Ortega Saavedra, Direct Line," Managua Radio Sandino 0200 GMT, May 30, 1980.

[From Accuracy in Media Report, March 1982]

#### THE REINCARNATION OF HERBERT MATTHEWS

Several years ago Cuban exiles paraded in front of the New York Times building in New York City with placards bearing a picture of Fidel Castro captioned, "I got my job through the New York Times." That was a slogan used to promote classified ads in the Times. Its application to Castro was in recognition of the vital role that Herbert Matthews, a renowned correspondent for the Times, had played in building up Castro and helping to bring him to power.

Matthews and the Times helped Castro deceive the world concerning his program for Cuba. He told them that he was out to restore constitutional government and democracy to Cuba, and they passed it on. They ignored the evidence that Castro was a Marxist and a participant in the violent communist-led riots in Bogota, Columbia in 1948.

Six days after Castro overthrew Batista, with considerable American help, his regime was recognized by our government. Herbert Matthews promptly wrote an editorial for the New York Times praising the action. It said that the Castro regime had "pledged itself to honor all international obligations, to hold new elections within a maximum of two years, and to protect foreign property and investments." It added, "Finally refuting allegations of Communist infiltration, it proposes to shun diplomatic relations with Communist countries."

Seven months later another Times correspondent, Tad Szulc, explained the absence of elections in Cuba, saying that Cuba was formulating a "new democracy." He quoted Fidel Castro as saying, "The democracy generated by our revolution reminds us of the first democracies of the world, of the Greek democracy, where the people in the public square discussed and decided their destiny..." Ruby Hart Phillips, then the perceptive permanent correspondent of the Times in Havana, noted in her excellent book, *The Cuban Dilemma* (1962) that this was the beginning of Castro's claim that Cuba did not need elections because he had a direct mandate from the people massed in the plaza.

Shortly after Castro's first anniversary in power Anastas Mikoyan, First Deputy Premier of the USSR, arrived in Havana to open up the Soviet Scientific, Cultural and Technical Exhibition. It was obvious that diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, which had been broken off in 1952, would soon be re-established. A few weeks later, in March 1960, Castro began his seizures of American property in Cuba, beginning with sugar refineries, farms and ranches. Castro had broken all his major promises.

#### THE NEW HERBERT MATTHEWS

Herbert Matthews is dead, but his spirit lives on at the New York Times. If there were a Herbert Matthews prize for disinformation, at least three Times correspondents would be in the running for it—Alan Riding, Warren Hoge and Raymond Bonner. All cover Central America. All have contributed to the effort to conceal from the American people the real intentions of the Castro-backed revolutionaries in that area.

Riding did for the Sandinista in Nicaragua what Matthews had done for Castro. He and other American journalists, notably Karen DeYoung of the Washington Post, served as the channels by which the Sandinistas informed the world that they wanted to overthrow Somoza in order to bring a pluralistic,

democratic society to Nicaragua. When the Sandinistas broke their promises even faster than Castro had, Riding fell strangely silent. The New York Times showed so little concern about human rights violations by the Sandinistas that it did not even carry a story about the report on Nicaragua by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights when it came out last summer.

Reed Irvine and Murray Baron, the chairman and president of AIM respectively, criticized the Times' coverage of Nicaragua under the Sandinistas in their meeting last July with Arthur Ochs Sulzberger and Sydney Gruson, the chairman and vice chairman of The New York Times Co. Mr. Sulzberger said that he would have the coverage reviewed to see if these criticisms were justified. The results have been minimal to negative. One of the most significant developments in Nicaragua after that meeting was the formal protest by the country's top business leaders against the government's march toward communism. This was not reported in the Times. The paper barely mentioned the subsequent arrest of four of the business leaders and the imprisonment of three of them.

#### HOG (E) WASH

At the end of December and during the first two weeks of January 1982, the Times ran a series of seven articles about Nicaragua by Warren Hoge. This was apparently an effort to make up for previous neglect, but the articles were largely a whitewash. They leave the impression that life in Nicaragua has dramatically improved for the great majority of the inhabitants, not only in terms of the material quality of life, but also in terms of liberty.

Hoge said in his January 14 article that "it is indisputable that Nicaraguans today suffer less state repression of fundamental freedoms under their leftist government than do the people of countries in the region like Guatemala and El Salvador whose right-wing governments do not draw the same kind of critical comments from Washington." Hoge apparently is unaware of the fact that the government of El Salvador is headed by a Christian Democrat who has taken such left-wing actions as redistribution of land and nationalization of banks. These policies have earned the government the enmity of the right, which is working hard to defeat it in the forthcoming elections.

Nowhere in his lengthy articles does Warren Hoge mention the fact that Nicaragua has 4,500 political prisoners, according to the latest human rights report issued by the Department of State. These prisoners were tried by kangaroo courts where the normal rules of evidence were suspended and with no right of appeal within the regular judicial system. The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights described conditions in the overcrowded prisons as inhuman. The State Department says that many credible reports of abuse of prisoners were received in 1981, and it notes that the Red Cross has been denied permission to visit prisoners under interrogation in places controlled by the state security police. The State Department says there are credible reports that torture is practiced in these centers.

Hoge avoided comparing human rights in Nicaragua today with conditions that prevailed before the Sandinistas took over. Under Somoza there were very few political prisoners. Until the Sandinistas began their rebellion, the country had a free press, elements of which were vigorous in their criti-

cism of the government. There were two vigorously competing political parties, and the minority party was guaranteed by law 40 per cent of the seats in the legislature. Had Somoza not been overthrown, the country would by now have held elections under international supervision. Hoge does not mention the fact that the Sandinistas, who took over two and a half years ago, have said they will not permit elections before 1985, a date that is anything but firm.

Hoge says the government "tolerates a level of political and press opposition that a police state would never allow." It is true that opposition political parties can be formed, but this is meaningless since they can't recruit members or run candidates for office. Moreover, their attempts to hold meetings have been broken up by mobs that apparently have government sanction. The one opposition newspaper, *La Prensa*, has been closed down five times in the past nine months and has been subjected to severe harassment in other ways. There is no evidence in Mr. Hoge's articles that he ever spoke with the beleaguered owners or editors of *La Prensa*, since he portrays a picture of the paper's position that is far rosier than what they have described.

The same is true of his remarks about the Church. Hoge says the Sandinistas have not hampered its activities, forgetting that Archbishop Obando y Bravo has been barred from giving his Sunday morning homily via television, a time-honored practice until last year. Curtailing the archbishop's access to the people is a police state reaction to his criticisms of the regime. In November, he said that Nicaragua is governed not by the junta, but by the Cubans. At a meeting in Bogota, Colombia on November 16, the archbishop charged that the key positions in Nicaragua are occupied by men close to Castro. He said that the Sandinist regime was totalitarian and Marxist-Leninist. These remarks were reported by AFP, the French news agency. Mr. Hoge gives no sign that he is even aware of them.

Similarly ignored was the letter written to the junta by Jose Esteban Gonzales, Coordinator of the Nicaraguan Human Rights Commission on October 17, 1981. He said the Sandinista political program was totalitarian and that it was based on "the objectives, programs and methods of the failed Cuban revolution." He criticized the creation of Sandinista "shock troops," saying that they had a clear fascist connotation, similar to those used by Hitler and Mussolini to attack groups they wanted to destroy or intimidate. Gonzalez, whose criticisms of human rights abuses under Somoza helped the Sandinistas, has since found that his work in this area is no longer appreciated. He was arrested and freed after international protests poured in. Last September he was barred from attending an international human rights meeting in Switzerland, and valuable documents and photos belonging to his Commission were confiscated.

Warren Hoge gives no indication of having discussed the human rights situation in Nicaragua with Gonzalez, with any of the victims of the regime, or with any of the exiles who helped the Sandinistas topple Somoza but were then bitterly disappointed to discover that they had helped bring to power an even worse dictatorship. He seems not to have heard of Nevardo Arguello, the third ranking official in the Nicaraguan Ministry of Justice under the Sandinistas. He fled the country, saying that the human rights situation had worsened under the Sandinistas and that their regime "does not



recognize the dignity of man and surrenders the country to a foreign power." He added: "The revolution is a myth. The Russians are giving orders through Fidel Castro."

#### THE JOURNAL REFUTES HOGE

Without mentioning Hoge, The Wall Street Journal ran a story on Nicaragua on January 15, 1982, which said almost precisely the opposite of the "Hog(e)wash" appearing in The Times. Reporter Lynda Schuster quoted a grocery store owner as saying: "We were all duped. If I thought for one minute that the Sandinistas would turn the country into another Cuba, I never would have given them my house to use as a base during the war."

Schuster cited a poll taken by La Prensa which revealed that some 70 percent of the Nicaraguans want free elections. It said that 64 percent feel their lives have not improved since the Sandinistas took over in 1979. The Journal noted: "The discontent . . . is still a serious problem for the new government because it comes from the middle and working classes. Many of these people—the economic backbone of both the revolution and the subsequent rebuilding—were ready for revolt against Somoza but not for the upheaval that followed. Now they strongly resent a new social, economic and political order they didn't expect, don't understand and don't want."

The tolerance of dissent, so uncharacteristic of a police state, which Warren Hoge discovered was not so obvious to Lynda Schuster. She wrote: "The government's growing intolerance to dissent worries the Permanent Commission on Human Rights in Managua, an independent group formed before the revolution. Marta Patricia Baltodano, the commission's director, says people are reluctant to express opinions or make political statements for fear of being jailed under an ambiguous law of public order and security that deals with counterrevolutionaries—in other words," she says, "anyone who disagrees with the government."

Baltodano said that some 300 persons had been jailed under this law. When the Nicaraguan Minister of Justice, Ernesto Castillo, was asked about all the political prisoners in Nicaragua during his visit to Washington, D.C. on February 19, he replied, "We have no political prisoners." Unfortunately we have journalists who will accept such lies and report them without question.

#### NICARAGUA'S MILITARY BUILDUP

Nicaragua, despite its desperate economic and financial difficulties, is carrying out a huge military buildup for a small Central American country. The Pentagon says it already has 40,000 in its army and a militia or reserves of 40,000. It plans a militia of 150,000. According to the State Department there are 1,800 to 2,000 Cuban troops in Nicaragua now. Nicaragua has 25 Soviet tanks, and 80 Nicaraguans are currently in Bulgaria receiving training to fly MiG fighters. They are expected to return to Nicaragua in a few months. The airfield at Puerto Cabeza in the northeastern part of the country has been lengthened and hardened to enable it to accommodate MiGs. The Sandinistas have been reported to have built 27 new military bases, and there are a number of bases that are said to be entirely off limits to all Nicaraguans.

In his articles in The Times, Warren Hoge downplayed the significance of the Nicaraguan military buildup. He puts the strength of the army at 23,000 with an additional 60,000 in the militia or reserves. He puts the number of Cuban military advisers at 1,500.

He acknowledges that pilots are being trained to fly MiG-17s, which he says will give them equality with the French Mysteres flown by the Honduran airforce. He does not point out that Honduras has only 12,000 men in its army or that El Salvador, which has a serious guerrilla problem, fueled by Nicaragua and Cuba, has only 15,000 men under arms. Nicaragua's neighbor to the south, Costa Rica, has no army.

Hoge explains this massive military buildup as a reaction to external threats to Nicaragua's security. He notes that Nicaraguan troops have been killed on the Honduran border and that a leader of 800 Latin American exiles receiving combat training in Florida claims to have infiltrated 100 men into Nicaragua through Honduras. He points to the refusal of Secretary Haig to rule out a military response to the growing signs of "totalitarianism" in Nicaragua. He quotes a high-ranking Sandinista as saying, "The United States says it may invade us, so we ask for more arms, and then the United States says we are destabilizing the military balance in Central America." Hoge adds that Administration charges that the Nicaraguans are arming themselves for something other than defensive reasons" is not shared by Latin American and European diplomats in Managua." Hoge does not tell us whether those diplomats were Cubans and Russians, or perhaps Panamanians and French.

Concern about the Nicaraguan military buildup is great in the neighboring Central American countries, including Costa Rica. Reed Irvins recently visited Costa Rica, where he talked with President Carrazo, with two of the candidates running to succeed Carrazo, and with Jose Figueres, who has served as president of Costa Rica three times. Carrazo and Figueres had contributed greatly to the Sandinista victory over Somoza. They still consider themselves friends, but there was universal concern about the course the Sandinistas are taking. Figueres, who led a successful revolution in Costa Rica in 1948 and then disbanded his own army as well as the one he defeated, is deeply worried about the military buildup. He sees Nicaragua as a potential threat to all of its neighbors, who cannot hope to defend themselves without help from the United States.

Hoge and The Times have it exactly reversed. The Nicaraguan buildup began long before there was any significant organized guerrilla activity directed against the Sandinistas. It began while the United States was still providing Nicaragua with economic aid and was endeavoring to work out a peaceful settlement of the differences between the two countries. Cord Meyer, a retired high CIA official who now writes a newspaper column, warned last spring that the guerrilla war in El Salvador was a distraction that was diverting attention away from the real threat, the growth of Nicaraguan military offensive power.

AIM called this to the attention of Arthur Ochs Sulzberger of The Times last July. It was news to him then. His immediate reaction was to ask why our government hadn't alerted the public to the danger if this was true. That was a good question, but since then top officials, including Secretary Haig have spoken out. Regrettably, the answer of The Times has been the disinformation series on Nicaragua by Warren Hoge, playing down the danger and justifying Nicaragua's ominous actions as nothing more than a reaction to our own "bellicosity" and 100 guerrilla infiltrators from Honduras.

#### THE MISKITO INDIAN PROBLEM

Writing on January 4, 1982, Hoge disposed of the forcible removal of thousands of Miskito Indians from their villages along the Nicaraguan border with Honduras in one brief paragraph. He said that the Indians had "objected to Sandinist efforts to integrate them into a culture dominated by the Spanish-speaking majority on the Pacific Coast." This was at a time when thousands of Indians—10,000 according to the Sandinistas' own admission—were rounded up and forcibly removed far from their ancestral lands.

According to a moving document by one of their leaders, Stedman Fagoth Muller, the communists were bent on stamping out the Indian culture. He said Interior Minister Tomas Borge had told him that the Sandinistas were prepared to exterminate the Indians if necessary to establish communism along the Atlantic coast. Fagoth Muller charges that on December 26, 1981, in an unprecedented massacre 35 Indians were buried alive by the Sandinistas. Thousands of the Indians have fled into Honduras. Hoge said nothing about all this. It was not until February 21 that The Times finally told its readers something of the suffering of the Indians.

#### A TIMES DISINFORMATION CLASSIC

Last January 11, The New York Times carried a shocking story by correspondent, Raymond Bonner, charging that U.S. military advisers in El Salvador had watched while El Salvadoran military personnel tortured two teenagers. The lengthy story ran on page 2 alongside a photo of the first contingent of Salvadoran soldiers arriving in this country for training.

The charge was based solely on statements made by a young deserter from the Salvadoran military named Gomez. Bonner said that he had been unable to obtain any corroboration of the charge, and he noted that it had been denied by the Defense Department. However, Bonner and The Times did not treat the story as one might expect them to treat an incredible and serious story that came from a single source with dubious credibility. The length of the story and the prominence it was given implied that The Times took it seriously and wanted it to be taken seriously by its readers.

The Soviets wasted no time in exploiting the publication of this very damaging story by The Times. The very next day, Radio Moscow blared forth the news that The New York Times had exposed the American advisers in El Salvador as having participated in the torture of prisoners. They then added the old communist charge that the U.S. had been teaching torture techniques in Latin America for many years.

#### AN OLD STORY

This story had been floating around Mexico City for many months. Leftists had been trying to peddle it to American journalists, but until Bonner came along they had found no takers. Apparently the other reporters recognized the story for what it obviously was—communist atrocity propaganda, totally lacking credibility. The story had appeared in a leftist Mexican paper, Uno Mas Uno. Radio Moscow could easily have picked it up from there, but that would not have provided the credibility they wanted. It was worth waiting to get the story insinuated into the great New York Times. It took eight months after Gomez deserted to achieve that goal, but thanks to

Raymond Bonner it was finally reached on January 11.

The American embassy in San Salvador and the Defense Department have investigated Gomez's charges very thoroughly. Not a scintilla of evidence to confirm his allegations has been found. They have found quite a bit of information that shows Gomez is a liar.

According to The Times, Gomez said that his father and mother were killed by Salvadoran National Guardsmen in May 1981. According to his relatives in his home town, that is untrue. They told U.S. investigators that Gomez's parents had died of natural causes long before then. The embassy also found that Gomez had varied the number of brothers and sisters he had from interview to interview. Gomez also told The Times that he deserted the Salvadoran military after he had been jailed and had succeeded in a dramatic escape, during which two other soldiers were killed and two seriously wounded. Military records show that he had simply failed to return from a 48-hour pass.

Several of Gomez's statements about U.S. military personnel in El Salvador are contrary to fact. He said that some of the U.S. soldiers who allegedly observed the torture of the teenagers were wearing camouflage fatigues. The U.S. personnel in El Salvador never wore camouflage fatigues. They were prohibited from doing so from the very beginning.

There are several other proven discrepancies in the statements attributed to Gomez by The Times. Howard Lane, U.S. information officer in our embassy in San Salvador, termed the story "yellow journalism." He said: "It is incredible that a paper of the stature of The Times would lend itself to this kind of cheap trick."

#### WHAT YOU CAN DO

Write to Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, Chairman, The New York Times, New York, N.Y. 10036 about these cases.

[From the Republican Study Committee Bulletin, Mar. 19, 1982]

#### Nicaragua's "Economic Miracle"

Question of the week: Why did it take the Sandinista government in Nicaragua only two years to amass "a foreign debt practically equal to the giant indebtedness accumulated by the corrupt Somoza regime in 43 years of systematic pillage?" That question was posed recently by Jose Esteban Gonzalez, Coordinator of Nicaragua's Human Rights Commission. Whether or not junta chieftain Daniel Ortega responded is unknown. But the reason for Nicaragua's economic collapse is undeniable.

To be sure, the Sandinistas inherited a dangerous situation. When they seized control of the government in July 1979, much of Nicaragua's economic infrastructure had been shattered by civil war and the country was faced with an external debt totaling \$1.3 billion. Nevertheless, Nicaragua was running a \$160 million trade surplus that year and had a vigorous agricultural sector. It didn't take the Sandinistas long to change things.

To finance a precipitous expansion of the government—eight new cabinet-level ministries and a 250% increase in the national budget in a single year—required certain "reforms." The Sandinistas began by negotiating a new repayment schedule on the foreign debt, at least forestalling the inevitable default until 1986. They gained a little more breathing room by tinkering with the money supply and raising taxes to confiscatory levels.

Ortega and company then embarked on overseas fundraising tours that have thus far netted \$1.3 billion in loans and development assistance. Other key elements in the Sandinista economic recovery plan included sweeping nationalizations in the industrial sector and the wholesale expropriation of private property.

Not satisfied with the results of all this, the Sandinistas decided to make war on what was left of the private sector and the independent labor unions. An estimated 200,000 white collar professionals, businessmen, and technicians have since fled the country. To make matters worse, migrant farmers from other Central American countries, who provided an important labor pool during the harvest season, have refused to return to Nicaragua.

Sandinista [mis]management of the Nicaraguan economy has resulted in an almost incomprehensible debacle. The country's external debt now stands at nearly \$3 billion and is growing by \$2.5 million a day. Inflation, currently at 35%, may reach 50% before the end of the year. Unemployment is idling 30% of the workforce.

Production in the vitally important agricultural sector, which accounts for three-fourths of Nicaragua's exports, has fallen by about 50% since the Sandinistas took over. Food prices have doubled and the export earnings of cotton and coffee, the two most important commodities, have been decimated. Nicaragua must now import sugar, rice, beans, and corn, products in which it was once self-sufficient.

Jose Francisco Cardenal, a prominent businessman and longtime opponent of the Somoza regime, answered the question of the week after he fled his homeland: "The economic result of the Sandinista ideological philosophy and its attacks on private enterprise has been the virtual ruin of Nicaragua's economy. . . . The government has continued its policy destined to strangle and then eliminate private enterprise from the country, and to create in its stead a type of Marxist-Leninist state capitalism." There is no other explanation.●

#### NEIGHBORS HELPING NEIGHBORS

● Mr. ARMSTRONG. Mr. President, last week I visited the Highland Neighborhood Service, a unique project in North Denver. Highland NHS is a working partnership of neighbors, lenders and city representatives committed to maintaining and enhancing the cultural, ethnic and socioeconomic mix of the Highland community. Highland volunteers and staff are succeeding in this ambitious task and in preserving and improving the quality of life in the neighborhood by: Working with residents toward upgrading their homes; working as a catalyst for commercial revitalization; directing necessary city services and capital improvements into the community, and working closely with financial institutions toward increasing private reinvestment into the area.

A 20 member board of directors, consisting of 11 residents, 6 lenders, one city official, and 2 community-at-large representatives guides the Highland NHS partnership and serves as the policymaking body.

A committed professional staff, employed by the Board, provides services for community revitalization.

#### HIGHLAND NHS GOALS

Among the specified goals of the Highland NHS are:

Involve Highland residents in community revitalization, both residential and commercial.

Upgrade deteriorating properties.

Preserve the ethnic, cultural, and socioeconomic diversity of the neighborhood.

Encourage the maintenance and/or improvement of neighborhood homes.

Lower resident's utility costs.

Increase home ownership in the neighborhood.

Preserve the historic character of the Highland area.

Encourage residents, financial institutions, and the city government to cooperate in addressing neighborhood concerns.

#### HIGHLAND NHS SERVICES

Home repair and energy conservation loans, NHS will help residents secure conventional loans. For those property owners who do not qualify for other loans we have a revolving loan fund and can provide low-interest long-term loans tailored to the individual.

Specification writing and estimates, NHS will visit neighborhood homes, write job specifications and develop cost estimates.

Qualified contractor referral and monitoring, NHS will assist residents in locating licensed contractors for home repair and improvements and will oversee contractor performance.

Home hazards inspection program, for all recipients of our services a survey will be conducted of the property to determine the repairs needed to assure the safety and health of the occupants.

Home energy audits/product demonstrations, on request NHS will conduct an audit, list low/no-cost energy-saving improvements and demonstrate weatherization products available on today's market.

Counseling for home purchase, NHS will help neighborhood families obtain financing for the purchase of homes in the area.

Do-it-yourself assistance, NHS will provide technical assistance and instruction to homeowners and tenants for do-it-yourself projects.

Block energy party, NHS will provide a weatherization gift, an Audit and will give hands-on demonstration of the most essential weatherization work on the host house.

Direct contact with city government, NHS will help upgrade public improvements and municipal services in the community.

Mr. President, in a time when so many large government programs to help solve community problems are



failing, it is truly an inspiration to see the success of the Highland Neighborhood Center. Executive director, Mary Helen Sandoval, and the board of directors of community residents and lenders are not only solving problems at the grassroots level, they have established a model which other communities would be wise to emulate.●

#### JUST MINOR TINKERING WITH SOCIAL SECURITY

● Mr. ARMSTRONG. Mr. President, I commend to the attention of my colleagues an editorial from the Pueblo Chieftain, one of Colorado's most influential daily papers. The editorial comments on the hazards of attempting to cure the problems of social security by relying on payroll tax increases to the exclusion of structural reforms. The editorial points out that the Social Security Commission's recommendations fall short of the reforms that can save it from a continuing financing crisis because it relies excessively on increasing taxes.

I ask that this editorial be printed in the RECORD because it represents a thoughtful contribution to the debate on one of this Nation's most important programs. Frank Hoag established a reputation of strong community leadership through constructive journalism and the editors and publishers of the Chieftain carry on that tradition.

The editorial referred to follows:

[Editorial from the Pueblo Chieftain, Jan. 18, 1983]

#### JUST MINOR TINKERING WITH SOCIAL SECURITY

Like coaxing a few more miles out of the aging family auto, our nation's leaders are about to do some tuneup work on the Social Security system. But they'll have to invest in a new engine and transmission some year soon, or the clunker will end up on the scrap heap yet.

Over the weekend, the National Commission on Social Security Reform, congressional leaders and the Reagan administration came to terms on a package recommending ways to pare huge deficits looming for Social Security.

The \$169 billion package represents a compromise between those who would raise taxes to make the system whole and those who would make up the difference mostly by reducing projected increases in benefits. And, like many compromises, it offers only weak remedies to problems requiring drastic cures.

There are a number of worthy elements in the plan, including requiring future federal workers and employees of non-profit corporations to participate in Social Security, increasing incentives for citizens to delay retirement past age 65, and delaying cost-of-living increases for six months.

But advancing the schedule of payroll tax increases only places further stain on a system already burdensome to workers and businesses. Furthermore, the package fails to address about one-third of the long-term deficits forecast for the system.

One writer in a national magazine accurately observes that Social Security as we know it is like a pyramid club, and, like any

pyramid club or Ponzi scheme, it will come crashing down when it runs out of suckers.

Some time after the turn of the century, there will be only two Americans paying into Social Security for every one receiving benefits. And, if benefits are not adjusted downward in the meantime, Social Security taxes will have to be as much as 40 percent of each worker's earnings.

Suckers may be born every minute. We cannot, however, conceive that they will be produced in numbers sufficient to carry this heavy load.

Knowing the political process as we do, we expect Congress to dutifully endorse the current package of compromises as the best that can be obtained under the circumstances. And, indeed, it may be.

But let no one be deceived that Social Security is about to be saved, for now and for future generations. It isn't.

The jalopy, with a couple of new spark-plugs and an oil change, may still be able to putter down the road for a while. But until the old gas hog is overhauled and made into a less costly, more efficient piece of machinery, it cannot be trusted for the long trip.●

#### EASY WAY OUT

● Mr. ARMSTRONG. Mr. President, the Rocky Mountain News recently editorialized on the Social Security Commission's plan to bail out the social security system.

The editors correctly point out that the Commission plan would increase the tax burden on the working poor and increase a bias against employment in our tax system. They also pinpoint another basic problem of the system which increases retirees' benefits faster than workers' wages.

We in Congress have an obligation to listen to the responsible people in our society like the editors of the News who have taken the time to become knowledgeable of the social security system. The credibility of the Congress and the Federal Government is at stake. We can hardly afford to adopt a plan that simply postpones the problems a few years.

I submit the editorial for the RECORD:

[From the Rocky Mountain News, Jan. 19, 1983]

#### EASY WAY OUT

After nearly a year of work, the president's commission on Social Security has come up with a plan that relies too much on new taxes and shrinks from meaningful reductions in the growth of costly benefits. Nevertheless, the plan does suggest some constructive changes, and, more to the point, is probably the only proposal now feasible.

First the bad news: Social Security tax increases would be accelerated. Since many low-income workers already pay more in Social Security taxes than they do in federal income taxes, the commission's "reform" would increase the tax burden on the working poor and sharpen the system's bias against employment.

Raising the payroll taxes paid by employers sends them an undesirable message. Think twice before hiring another worker.

But if you forgo the worker and buy a machine instead, our marvelous system rewards you with an investment tax credit.

It's also unfortunate that the commission lacked the courage to uncouple benefits from the Consumer Price Index, which means another round of inflation could again ravage the system. The fundamental cause of Social Security's massive deficit is that benefits were allowed to run away from revenues, as cost-of-living increases boosted retirees' income at a faster rate than the income of wage-earners.

However, the commission did recommend a few changes on the benefits side, beginning with a proposed 6-month delay in the cost-of-living increase due July 1. It also proposed that benefits be taxed for those retirees who have substantial incomes outside the system. Finally, it would bring new federal employees into the system—a long needed reform—as well as head off the withdrawal from the system of other government agencies.

Colorado Sen. William Armstrong was one of three commission members who dissented from the report. He's upset—with good reason—that the proposals rely so heavily on higher taxes. However, it is difficult to believe that the present political climate would allow for a much fairer solution. In fact, even implementing the modest changes in benefits actually suggested will require a small miracle.

Obviously, Social Security taxes cannot forever be raised at the same rate they have been for the past 20 years. Someday, as Senator Armstrong maintains, politicians will have to face up to that fact. Maybe they will have mustered the necessary political courage to do so in time for the next crisis in the system—say, four or five years from now?●

#### ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I have two routine requests I wish to put before I attempt to proceed to another matter.

#### ORDER FOR RECESS UNTIL 11:30 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today it stand in recess until 11:30 a.m. tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection it is so ordered.

#### ORDER FOR THE RECOGNITION OF SENATOR LEVIN TOMORROW

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow, after the recognition of the two leaders under the standing order, the distinguished Senator from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN) be recognized on a special order of not to exceed 15 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

**ORDER THAT WASHINGTON'S  
FAREWELL ADDRESS BE READ  
ON FEBRUARY 21, 1983**

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of President Washington's farewell address occur this year on February 21 instead of February 22 as provided in the order of January 24, 1901.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, pursuant to the order of the Senate, appoints the junior Senator from Virginia (Mr. TRIBLE) to read Washington's farewell address on February 21, 1983.

Mr. BAKER. I thank the Chair.

**NOMINATIONS**

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, both on February 3, prior to the Lincoln Day recess, and again this morning, I indicated it would be my intention to ask the Senate to turn to the consideration of the nomination of Richard T. McCormack, of the District of Columbia, to be an Assistant Secretary of State and the nomination of Richard R. Burt, of the District of Columbia, to be an Assistant Secretary of State.

I will go first to the Burt nomination or attempt to do so, but before I do, in order that any Senator who wishes to communicate with his cloakroom may do so, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 5 minutes as in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

**ORDER OF PROCEDURE**

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, the request I am about to put has been cleared with the minority leader. Members on this side, including those who have indicated opposition to at least one of the nominees on the Executive Calendar, have been made aware of the request.

Mr. President, before I put the request, let me make the arrangements for tomorrow's session.

**PROGRAM**

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, there is already an order for the Senate to convene tomorrow at 11:30 a.m., I believe.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, on tomorrow, after the Senate convenes at 11:30 a.m., the Chair will recognize the two leaders under the standing order and then the distinguished Senator from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN) on a special order.

**ORDER FOR RECESS ON TOMORROW**

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the expiration of the time required by those events, the Senate then stand in recess until the hour of 2 p.m. tomorrow. Parenthetically, the reason for that is to permit Members on both sides of the aisle to attend caucuses of an official nature away from the floor of the Senate.

**ORDER DESIGNATING A PERIOD FOR THE TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS ON TOMORROW**

Mr. President, I further ask unanimous consent that when the Senate reconvenes after the recess at 2 p.m., that there be a brief period for the transaction of routine morning business in which Senators may speak for not more than 5 minutes each and to extend not later than 2:30 p.m.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the unanimous-consent requests of the distinguished majority leader are so ordered.

**EXECUTIVE SESSION**

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, as I said, the request I am about to put has been cleared with the minority leader, all Senators that we are aware of who have an interest in this matter have been notified, and I believe there will not be an objection to the request I am about to put.

I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now go into executive session for the purpose of considering the nomination of Richard R. Burt, of the District of Columbia, to be an Assistant Secretary of State, vice Lawrence S. Eagleburger, resigned.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

**NOMINATION OF RICHARD R. BURT, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, TO BE AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE**

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The nomination will be stated.

The bill clerk read the nomination of Richard R. Burt, of the District of Columbia, to be an Assistant Secretary of State.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, as I indicated earlier today, it is not the intention of the leadership to try to press for a vote on this matter today. Indeed, in the absence of certain key Senators who wish to be involved in the debate, I think it would be inappropriate to go forward with any debate on this matter at this time.

When the Senate completes its business today, it will return in the morn-

ing at 11:30, and at the expiration of the time for the transaction of routine morning business, not later than 2:30 p.m. tomorrow, the Senate will resume consideration of this nomination. Is that not correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is correct.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, the leadership intends to pursue this matter, I hope to complete this matter, on tomorrow, and, following that, to turn to the nomination of Richard T. McCormack, of the District of Columbia, to be followed by such other nominations as may appear appropriate at that time as they are listed on the Executive Calendar.

While the unanimous-consent order provides for the Senate to go into executive session, which we have done, solely for the purpose of considering the Burt nomination, it is the intention of the leadership to proceed to these other matters when the Burt nomination is completed, absent other extraordinary and compelling reasons.

**RECESS UNTIL TOMORROW AT  
11:30 A.M.**

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the order previously entered, that the Senate now stand in recess until the hour of 11:30 a.m. tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and at 1:34 p.m. the Senate, in executive session, recessed until Tuesday, February 15, 1983, at 11:30 a.m.

**NOMINATIONS**

Executive nominations received by the Secretary of the Senate February 8, 1983, under authority of the order of the Senate of February 3, 1983:

**BOARD FOR INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING**

Thomas F. Ellis, of North Carolina, to be a Member of the Board for International Broadcasting for a term expiring April 28, 1985, vice Charles David Ablard, term expired.

Michael Novak, of the District of Columbia, to be a Member of the Board for International Broadcasting for a term expiring April 28, 1985, vice Thomas H. Quinn, term expired.

**IN THE AIR FORCE**

The following-named officer for appointment to the grade of lieutenant general on the retired list pursuant to the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 1370:

*To be lieutenant general*

Lt. Gen. Richard C. Henry, xxx-xx-xxxx  
xxx-... FR, U.S. Air Force.

**IN THE ARMY**

The following-named officer to be placed on the retired list in the grade indicated under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 1370:

*To be general*

Gen. Edward C. Meyer, xxx-xx-xxxx (age 54), U.S. Army.



## IN THE ARMY

The following-named officers for promotion in the Reserve of the Army of the United States, under the provisions of Title 10, U.S.C., Section 3370:

## ARMY PROMOTION LIST

## To be colonel

Abreu, Ronald P.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Burleson, Carl L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Fornoff, Robert E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Adams, Ambrose D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Burton, William P.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Forslund, Gerald W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Adams, Robert E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Calder, Leslie G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Fortune, Thomas R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Adams, William D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Calhoun, Clarence A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Fost, Carolyn A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Agrafiotis, Chrys C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Capps, Robert O.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Foster, Harvey L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Albracht, Robert A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Carlton, Patrick W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Fox, William I., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Alden, John E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Carman, Bobby V.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Freeman, Lindsay M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Alewel, Roger L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Carpenter, Jimmie J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Furioni, Richard J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Alexander, Richard,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Carpenter, Robert C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Gableman, Jack R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Allen, John E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Carter, Donald R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Gaglione, Franklin,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Alm, Dennis C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Casto, Eldridge R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Gallagher, Thomas J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Alsip, Tommy G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Chamblee, Herbert M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Gallucci, John V.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Alton, Jack E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Christy, Terry F.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Gangness, Ronald L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Alvarez, Luis,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Christy, William S.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Garrison, Carl E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Amador, Julian W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Cleckley, Gilbert,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Gatt, Larry A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Ambrose, William P.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Clinkscales, Paul A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Gauthier, John A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Amoroso, Francis J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Cloore, James A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Gavigan, David W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, Benny P.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Cockerham, William,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Geoffrion, David L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, Gene R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Coley, Arthur G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Gibson, Dudley C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Armstrong, Charles,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Coll, James N.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Gies, Florian J., III,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Armstrong, Donald G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Collier, Daniel M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Gilbert, Barton J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Armstrong, Robert C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Contacos, Samuel P.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Gill, Edward L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Arnold, Joseph R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Cook, Echol E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Gill, James E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Arther, Billy J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Counts, James T.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Gilley, Talmadge B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Aus, Alfred B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Cox, Donald D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Gilson, Alfred J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Austin, Joseph R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Cox, George H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Gipson, Gerry Z.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Baggett, William T.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Cox, Robert E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Gober, Lee G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Baker, Donald E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Crawford, Joseph B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Gormley, William J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Baker, Merrill S.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Crowe, John T.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Gousie, Laurent,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Baker, Norman J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Crowley, Edward M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Grabow, Richard M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Bakke, Kjell M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Cummins, Carl C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Gradwohl, Richard A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Baldwin, Edward S.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Cusker, Bruce W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Granados, Antonio F.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Ballenger, William,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Damkaer, Donald,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Graser, Alfred J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Barker, Larry C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Damore, Francisco J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Greenhaw, Robert L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Barnette, James H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Danyow, Paul S.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Greenspan, Jack M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Barton, Billie R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Darbyshire, David W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Griffiths, James S.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Bassett, John C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Dase, Ralph L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Grimsley, William P.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Bassford, Gerald L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Davenport, Milton D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Griswold, Donald R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Beal, Wesley A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Davidson, James T.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Grizzle, Richard A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Beatty, William T.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Davidson, William H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Gross, Franklin C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Becker, John B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Davis, Eddie W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Grossman, Peter G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Beemer, Elwyn L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Davis, John E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Gruner, George R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Bennett, Andrew F.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Davoli, Donald H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Guthrie, James R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Bennett, Robert W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Dawson, Raymond M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Guthrie, John S.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Berger, Baruch M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Day, Joseph Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Gwynne, Harry S.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Bevis, Coleman O.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Deccio, Lawrence P.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hagan, Jerry D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Bianchi, Arthur A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Delgehausen, Roger,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hager, Thomas C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Bielawa, Frederick,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Dellinger, Douglas,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hagglund, Donald E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Binder, John J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Digiacomio, Carmen J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hale, Gene P.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Bird, James E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Digre, Kenneth B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hall, Robert W., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Blandford, John L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Doe, Charles O.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Halliday, James P.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Bolton, Thomas N.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Doherty, Dennis E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Halsey, David H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Bonanno, Frank C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Dolan, Robert,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hammond, William C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Bonds, Tommy W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Domieniecki, Thomas,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hansen, William E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Boothby, Charles L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Dougherty, Edward T.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Harber, Gary G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Bootzin, Jerold W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Douglas, Judson B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Harris, Robert A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Borcher, Dale H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Duell, George H., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Harrison, Charles R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Bosarge, Frederick,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Duerr, Richard D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Harrison, David G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Boucher, Paul J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Dulaski, Benedict J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Harrison, John R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Bouldin, Kenneth A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Dunlap, John L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hatten, Richard E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Bourassa, Jerry D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Dupont, George B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hawkins, Billy W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Bowen, Frank S., III,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Duvall, Henry P.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hawley, William C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Boyce, Woodrow D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Eagon, Herbert B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hayes, Gerard J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Boyd, Edgar L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Easley, John R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Heath, Clarence P.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Bradshaw, Philip L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Eckstrom, Ivan P.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Heath, George W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Bragg, Henry C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Edwards, Gerald R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Helpling, Ray D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Brandt, Robert J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Elliott, Walter C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Herrmann, Howard P.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Brantley, Shelby K.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Ellison, James B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Higgins, James W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Broadway, Buddy S.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Engstrand, Raymond,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hildebrand, Dean C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Brogdon, Alven L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Evangelist, Joseph,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hildreth, Blake E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Brown, Gerald M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Fanning, Thomas J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hill, Howard D. III,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Brown, Gerald V.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Farmer, Maurice D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hinkle, Richard F.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Brown, Roland D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Farragut, Wallace E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hisle, Armer G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Brunelle, Donald R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Faulkner, Charles B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hobgood, William B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Brunk, Gordon L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Faust, Ramon B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hodge, David L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Bryant, Max L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Ferguson, Donald J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hodge, Ray,	xxx-xx-xxxx
		Ferling, Robert W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hoffman, William M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
		Filegar, John Q.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Holland, Francis A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
		Finlayson, John D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Holt, Kenneth A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
		Finley, Franklin,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Holtsinger, Rollie,	xxx-xx-xxxx
		Finnerty, Robert J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Honrychs, Sigmund J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
		Flanum, Arvid M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hoover, Jerry F.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
		Flint, Fred R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hopkins, Alben N.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
		Ford, Wesley W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hopper, James A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx

Hoppes, Ronald A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Horter, John C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hucks, Thomas L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Huffman, James A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Humbert, Richard P., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hurley, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Imorde, George H., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Ingram, Joseph H., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Isham, Virgil B., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Jackson, Gary W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Jackson, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Jacobson, Lowell D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Jakubowski, Eugene, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Jambon, Orleans A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 James, Richard H., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Janssen, Wayne G., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Jastrow, Donald R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Johnson, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Johnston, Frederick, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Jones, Allen C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Jones, John S., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Joyner, William W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Judge, Jimmie, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Kaplan, Lawrence P., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Kasile, Joseph D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Katuzny, Walter E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Kelsey, John P., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Kenny, Thomas P., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Kido, Edwin T., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Kihlberg, Fred E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Kilbourne, John W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Kilgore, Carmen L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Kilpatrick, Robert, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 King, John W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Klinkerman, Paul R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Knoebel, Frederick, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Koester, Harold Lee, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Kohl, Delbert E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Kohlwe, Stanley W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Kornick, John B., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Kough, Harold R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Krienke, Theophil R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Krigline, Alan G., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Krull, Jacob J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Krupinski, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Kulas, James F., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Kutka, Ronald A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lacina, Donald P., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Laferriere, Robert, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lally, John E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lamarche, Louis J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lamastra, Anthony R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Larkin, Edward S., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Larsen, Lance R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lassart, James A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Laulainen, Ernest R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Laurino, Thomas P., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Layton, Stanford J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Legieu, Pedro, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lehman, Robert S., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Leidenheimer, John, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lerda, Louis J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Levins, Robert R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lewis, John I., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lewison, Donald R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lidberg, Carl W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Liston, Paul F., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Litchfield, Willard, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Litschke, Jerome C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Livesay, Donald D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lloyd, Ralph L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Logsdon, David P., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Long, James H., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lott, Cleveland, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Love, Miller L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lown, Eldon C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lowry, Mark II, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lundgren, Alan C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lynch, Charles T., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Macaluso, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Mack, George E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Madewell, Richard J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Majors, Carol W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Malloy, Thomas F., xxx-xx-xxxx

Malone, Eric D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Mangold, Carl A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Margetts, Charles M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Marsh, James D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Martin, Charles R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Martin, James A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Martin, James G., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Martin, Kenneth K., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Martin, Lewis R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Martin, Luther T., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Martin, Marion C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Martin, Paul D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Martin, Phillip L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Martinez, Joseph D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Mason, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Massad, William, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Matthews, Ronald M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Mattingly, Joseph E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Maul, David L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Mays, John E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 McArdle, Michael R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 McGillen, William D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 McGinnis, Alfred C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 McKee, Burton R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 McKee, Robert M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 McKenzie, Fred L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Meese, Edwin III, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Metz, Laurence L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Micklitz, Karl N., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Milwee, Raymond F., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Miranda, Louis N. H., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Mitson, Edward J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Moffett, Tommy C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Montgomery, Jessie, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Moor, Ralph C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Moore, John F., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Moore, Tebbs S., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Moore, Thomas J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Morales-Pares, Raul, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Morgan, Audy C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Morgan, John F., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Morris, Richard F., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Morris, Theodore, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Moulton, Harold W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Mueller, Jerold E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Muly, Carl A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Murphy, John L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Murphy, John S., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Murphy, Joseph T., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Murphy, Raymond E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Myers, James C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Neal, John N., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Nelms, William E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Newsome, Norman E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Newton, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Nicol, Gorham D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Nielsen, Chris, Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Nistler, Joseph J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Nixon, Robert B. III, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Nolan, Donald G., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Nolan, Maxcy P., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Nolan, Turner, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Noland, Billy R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Noles, Billy J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Norman, Carl S., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Norman, Duane M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Obradovich, Milan, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 O'Connor, Maurice J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Ohlhaver, Jon H., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 O'Keefe, James W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Olson, Charles E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Ortiz, Alejandro, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Osburn, James D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Osora, Ralph T., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Ostrom, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Oura, Donald M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Paden, John M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Paige, Billy D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Paine, Jack W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Pajak, John J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Panza, Frederick D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Pappas, John G., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Parler, Julius L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Patton, Donald G., xxx-xx-xxxx

Paulus, Arthur A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Payne, Larry C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Pearson, Elon M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Peden, Joe W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Peeler, Clarence E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Pendergrass, Raymond, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Penfield, Gail E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Penton, Ben H., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Peoples, Kerney A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Perry, George A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Perry, Harold S., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Phillips, Billy M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Pierce, Allan W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Pieretti, Hector G., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Pierson, Robert D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Pilkington, George, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Platek, Paul A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Porter, Gerald W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Porter, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Potts, Richard K., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Powell, James H., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Powers, John T., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Prem, David C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Putnins, Andzs, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Quinlan, Thomas F., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Quinn, Herbert B., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Race, Howard C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Radnich, Spencer I., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Railsback, Paul A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Ranch, Lewis C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Raper, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Raymond, Harry J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Redmon, Billy E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Reese, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Reisbeck, William F., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Remer, Jack C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Replogle, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Richard, Walter A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Richards, Gary D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Rickaby, Dale E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Ringer, Richard F., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Risberg, Edwin R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Robinson, Richard R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Robison, Harold S., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Rogers, Harry R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Ross, Ernest R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Rothe, Herbert B., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Rowe, Benjamin D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Rueger, James F., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Rupple, Harry D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Ruslen, John E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Salyer, Jerry L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Salzingier, Hans K., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Sammon, Eugene E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Sampson, Franklin E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Samuels, Larry G., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Sanborn, Everett C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Sanchez, Reynaldo, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Sanders, Bobby R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Sanderson, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Sceranka, Donald J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Schaefer, Howard M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Schaller, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Schardein, Max L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Scheinkoenig, Joseph, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Schumaker, Theodore, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Schwartz, Melvin J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Scott, Charles E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Scully, John J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Sealock, David D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Sefton, Frank N. III, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Selby, Jerry L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Sexton, Dennis W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Shaffer, Gene A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Shamlin, Gary E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Shashaty, Raymond J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Shaver, Fred W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Shearin, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Sheridan, Max P., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Shields, Gale A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Shields, Paul R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Shires, James C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Shook, William H., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Sibrt, Jerome J., xxx-xx-xxxx



Simek, John E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Simmons, Franklin D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Sisk, William M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Sitts, Edward C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Skelly, James G., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Small, Richard S., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Smets, Russell J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Smets, William N., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Smith, Chester W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Smith, David E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Smith, Donald G., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Smith, Donald J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Smith, Fletcher B., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Smith, James L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Smith, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Smith, Norbert F., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Smith, Orville M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Smith, Richard A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Smith, Tilford L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Smith, Vernal J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Snaden, James N., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Sniadach, Louis M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Southard, George L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Springsteen, George, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Stallard, James D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Standridge, Jon A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Stanton, Thomas R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Stark, James M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Steele, Gilbert R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Steele, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Steele, Ryan E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Stefanick, Michael, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Stein, Harold A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Stevenson, William, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Stewart, Charles E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Stewart, William F., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Stiglets, Jimmy W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Stoddard, Dwight L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Stokes, Thomas E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Stone, Arthur W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Stones, Thomas C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Straub, Robert M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Straut, Robert P., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Strong, Bob C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Suggs, Clarence E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Sutton, Ray S., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Swing, Theodore R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Sykora, Harold J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Szczotka, Chester J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Taaffe, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Terry, Alton W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Terry, David L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Thackston, Carroll, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Thayer, Henry H., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Thompson, Ray L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Thorpe, Michael D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Thusius, Norman E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Tillman, Harold E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Toledo, Richard J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Tolin, Douglas L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Traub, Richard K., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Tucker, Don B., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Turnage, Albert J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Turner, Elbert F., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Turner, Thomas E. II, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Tyler, Terry J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Underwood, John T., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Upchurch, James F., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Urette, Michael E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Valdez, Victor G., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Vanderveen, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Varese, Lewis J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Voight, Monte C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Volz, Russell L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Vowell, Leonard G., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Walker, Daniel J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Walsh, James P., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Wambsganss, Richard, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Ward, Alvin G., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Ward, Don C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Warner, Clarence E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Wattel, Marshall L., xxx-xx-xxxx

Watts, Donald R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Wein, Richard W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Wepster, Jan P., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 West, Ronald P., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Westgard, Raymond, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Westmoreland, M. D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Whitworth, Robert D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Whorton, Ronald E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Wigley, William V., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Wilbur, Ralph O., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Wilkinson, Cicero J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Williams, Louis R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Willis, Clinton J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Willner, Gerald J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Wilson, Bobby D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Wilson, James L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Wilson, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Wilson, Ronald L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Wittschen, John H., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Womack, James K., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Wood, Kenneth C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Wood, Milton O., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Woodard, Ripley E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Woodcock, Burgett N., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Woods, Edwin, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Worth, Stephen G., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Wright, Arvin L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Wright, Maston E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Wurtele, Ronald M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Yonamine, Kenneth T., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 York, Frederick A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Ziemba, Gerald P., xxx-xx-xxxx

## CHAPLAIN

## To be colonel

Bearce, Leroy C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Blais, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Egbert, Archie O., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Ennis, Raymond E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Fine, Arthur L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Foster, Robert A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Greenberg, Jacob J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hairston, Andrew J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hembrock, Richard G., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hewitt, Arthur A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hoard, Samuel L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Jessop, Sylmar W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Johnson, Richard H., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lauer, James P., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Leath, James A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lindenauer, Jon M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Miller, Phillip O., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Morris, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Redmerski, Stanley, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Roberts, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Snell, Robert S., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Stricklin, Gilford, xxx-xx-xxxx

## ARMY PROMOTION LIST

## To be lieutenant colonel

Smith, Lawrence A., xxx-xx-xxxx

## IN THE NAVY

The following-named temporary commanders of the U.S. Naval Reserve for permanent promotion to the grade of commander, in the Line and staff corps, as indicated, subject to qualifications therefor as provided by law:

## LINE

Felchko, Joseph A. Stanford, L. Bradley.  
 Ostrander, Peter H. Verzino, William J., Jr.  
 Rawls, Hugh M., Jr.

## MEDICAL CORPS

Smith, Joseph J.

The following-named temporary lieutenant commanders of the U.S. Naval Reserve for permanent promotion to the grade of lieutenant commander in the Line and staff corps, as indicated, subject to qualifications therefor as provided by law:

## LINE

Hubbard, Charles J. Smith, James P.  
 Mullis, John T. Pegler, Randall E.  
 Nahas, Rafik E. Robinson, John G.

## MEDICAL CORPS

Hunt, Wesley S.

## CIVIL ENGINEER CORPS

Hall, William M.

The following-named officers of the line of the U.S. Navy, for appointment in the Civil Engineer Corps, as permanent lieutenant (junior grade), subject to qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Ghizzoni, Jeffrey A. De Quay, Lawrence

The following-named officers of the Line of the U.S. Navy, for appointment in the Civil Engineer Corps, as indicated, for permanent ensign, subject to qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Fredette, Steven R. Klenke, Robert H.

The following-named Naval Reserve Officers Training Corps candidates to be appointed permanent ensign in the Line or staff corps of the U.S. Navy, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law:

Barfield, Lisa C. Mayrand, Kurt J.  
 Evaristo, Michael Q. Olver, Barry K.  
 Hamilton, Paul B.

The following-named Naval Reserve officers for permanent appointment in the Line or staff corps of the U.S. Navy in the permanent grade of ensign, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law:

Alexander, John D. Goldacker, Curt W.  
 Barra, Daryl M. O'Connor, Sean C.

The following-named Naval Reserve officers to be appointed permanent lieutenant in the Medical Corps in the U.S. Navy, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law:

Anderson, Michael H. Lappert, Patrick W.  
 Brianard, Hugh F., Markwell, James K.  
 III Marshall, Sharon A.  
 Burke, Robert J. May, Laurel A.  
 Byrnes, Gordon A. Meade, Robert J.  
 Coleman, Colleen M. Mirkinson, Laura J.  
 Colkitt, Michelle Montgomery, Jean C.  
 Collins, Jonathan S. Moore, Gregory R.  
 Conley, Laurence D. Naylor, Schueller G.  
 Curiale, Steven V. Nellestein, Michael  
 Cutting, Jonathan P. Perci  
 Dalrymple, Ann M. Perciballi, John A.  
 Dickerson, Michael Quinn, Anthony D.  
 M. Rowe, Dennis N.  
 Fletcher, Clinton L. Schneider, Steven R.  
 Hall, Kathryn L. Schnepf, Glenn A.  
 Hargraves, Ronald W. Schubert, Karen M.  
 W. Seldon, Stephen L.  
 Hemp, James R. Wojtczak, Henry A.  
 Jennings, Heidi A. York, James K.  
 Kase, Charles J.

Robert M. Jacobs, Navy enlisted candidate, to be appointed permanent chief warrant officer, W-2, in the U.S. Navy, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law.

Commander William A. Herndon, Medical Corps, U.S. Navy, to be appointed a permanent commander in the Medical Corps in the Reserve of the U.S. Navy, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law.

Executive nominations received by the Secretary of the Senate February 9, 1983, under authority of the order of the Senate of February 3, 1983:

## DEPARTMENT OF STATE

James R. Bullington, of Tennessee, a Career Member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Burundi.

## FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT AGENCY

Bernard A. Maguire, of Virginia, to be an Associate Director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, vice Gloria Cusumano Jimenez.

## SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE

The following-named Career Members of the Senior Foreign Service of the Agency for International Development for promotion in the Senior Foreign Service to the classes indicated:

Career Members of the Senior Foreign Service of the United States of America, class of Career Minister:

Frank Bennett Kimball, of New Mexico.  
Princeton Nathan Lyman, of Maryland.  
William Haven North, of Maryland.  
David Shear, of Virginia.

Career Members of the Senior Foreign Service of the United States of America, class of Minister-Counselor:

Walter George Bollinger, of Pennsylvania.  
Dennis Joseph Brennan, of Kentucky.  
Frank D. Correl, of New York.  
Lawrence Taylor Cowper, of California.  
Albert E. Henn, M.D., of Connecticut.  
Jay Preston Johnson, of California.  
James M. Kelly, of the District of Columbia.

Marion L. Kellogg, of Arizona.  
John William Koehring, of Virginia.  
Ronald Dennis Levin, of Florida.  
Alexander Ray Love, of California.  
Terrence John McMahon, of Virginia.  
Donald W. Reilly, of Illinois.  
Brandon Robinson, of Florida.

The following-named Career Members of the Foreign Service of the Agency for International Development for promotion into the Senior Foreign Service to the class indicated, and also for the other appointments indicated herewith:

Career Members of the Senior Foreign Service of the United States of America, class of Counselor, and Consular Officers and Secretaries in the Diplomatic Service of the United States of America:

Richard K. Archi, of Nevada.  
David Bathrick, of Washington.  
Walter W. Boehm, of California.  
Laurance William Bond, of California.  
Neboysa Ranko Brashich, of Virginia.  
Craig Garner Buck, of Texas.  
Roger D. Carlson, of District of Columbia.  
Theodore Bennett Carter, of Virginia.  
Ronald V. Curtis, of Oregon.  
John Robert Eyre, of California.  
Charles Ramon Gurney, of California.  
James Wiley Habron, of New Jersey.  
Lawrence C. Heilman, of Maryland.  
James S. Holtaway, of Florida.  
John P. Hummon, of Maryland.  
George A. Laudato, of New Jersey.  
Carl H. Leonard, of Virginia.  
Steven George Liapis, of Virginia.  
John L. Lovaas, of Virginia.  
A. David Lundberg, of New York.  
John Archer Lundgren, of Connecticut.  
John Alexander Patterson, of Rhode Island.  
Mario Pita, of Florida.  
Barry Michael Riley, of California.  
E. Lawrence Sifers, of New Mexico.  
Julius P. Schlotthauer, of Virginia.  
Bastiaan Schouten, of Oregon.  
Douglas L. Tinsler, of Virginia.

William H. Trayfors, of Virginia.

John R. Westley, of the District of Columbia.

## PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

The following candidates for personnel action in the regular corps of the Public Health Service subject to qualifications therefor as provided by law and regulations:

## 1. For permanent promotion:

## To be medical director

John V. Bennett	George A. Reich
David L. Child	Pierre F. Renault
Uel D. Crosby, Jr.	Thomas L.
Ronald E. Gillilan	Robertson, Jr.
C. W. Gorodetzky	Calvin D. Sanders
David H. Groth	Bernard Talbot
Robert C. Hastings	Charles R. Westley
Paul V. Holland	Benjamin C. Young, Jr.
Villis E. Kilpe	
Carl R. Merrill	

## To be senior surgeon

Myron J. Adams, Jr.	Joseph G. Lossick
Julio M. Cagungan, Jr.	Stanley I. Music
James D. Felsen	Scott H. Nelson
Robert H. Gelber	Barbara L. Packard
Robert J. Gerety	Kenneth M. Peterson
Marlene E. Haffner	William W. Richards, Jr.
Donald R. Hopkins	Richard B.
Hsien W. Ju	Rothenberg
Ricahrd T. Kotomori	Harrison C. Stetler
Rice C. Leach	Kurt J. Stromberg

## To be surgeon

Garrett W.	Gregory Okeefe III
Duckworth, Sr.	Jeffrey A. Perlman
Anton P. Kemps	Donald L. Weaver
Thomas M. Kessler	
Virginia B.	
Kopelman	

## To be dental director

Tullio F. Albertini	James P. Johnson
John L. Elliott	Edward Kuzma
William R. Hall	Rudolph E. Micik
Wayne A. Jenkins	

## To be senior dental surgeon

Donald G. Burks	Albert D. Guskes
Pedro G. Colon, Jr.	Ernest Hardaway
Robert C. Fielder	Leopold J. Sollazzo
George B. Fink	Galen B. Warren

## To be dental surgeon

Douglas W.	Gary S. Gritzbaugh
Alderman	Charles G. Hay
Jay Arthur Balzer	Jay J. Jones
Robert A. Best	William R. Maas
Harold A. Black	Victor A. Palmieri
Eric D. Bothwell	William A. Shaner
Eric B. Broderick	III
Ronald P. Burakoff	Wallace G. Smith III
William R. Burns	David M. Snyderman
Melvin D. Cooper	Gary L. Stannard
Douglas B. Fritz	David W. Welmerink
Michael E. Grijalva	William D. Wood

## To be nurse director

Tanya T. Crow	Pauline R. Jones
Patricia P. Grimalla	Helen M. Mangan
George F. Hedquist	Evelyn L. Maxwell
Christine H. Johnson	Rose M. Truax

## To be senior nurse officer

Claudette V.	Mary L. Raje
Campbell	Lois E. Solari
Ann J. Eades	Ernest D. Walker
O. Marie Henry	

## To be nurse officer

Sandra B. Costa	Jerrilynn Regan
Rayda McDermott	Kathleen A. Weber

## To be senior assistant nurse officer

Jewel Lee Boykin	Margaret E. Galluzzi
Janice M. Carico	

## To be engineer director

Malcolm C. Bruce	R. S. Kramkowski
Dewayne E. Durst	Robert G. Raymond
Jack R. Farmer	Daniel A. Stock
Henry L. Fisher, Jr.	Donald T. Wruble

## To be senior engineer officer

T. A. Bartholomew	John N. Leo
Philip J. Bierbaum	Gary S. Logsdon
Robert G. Britain	J. F. Mastromauro
Bruce M. Burnett	Leonard W. Nowak
Virgil E. Carr	John R. O'Connor
Dean R. Chaussee	Billy F. Pearson
Warren W. Church	W. S. Properzio
Wayne T. Craney	Malcolm B. Reddoch
Bobby L. Dillard	Billy H. Reid
Herbert W. Dorsey	Harry F.D. Smith, Jr.
Thomas P. Glavin	John M. Smith
Grady T. Helms, Jr.	Robert N. Snelling
Joseph W. Janick	Dale A. Stevenson
Douglas L. Johnson	

## To be engineer officer

Stanley M. Blacker	John R. Hamilton
Christopher L.	David S. Kitcher
Christman	E. Albert Rachal, III
Dennis W. Groce	Steven H. Rubin
Gregory Q. Haase	Winston A. Smith

To be senior assistant engineer officer  
James T. Sorensen

## To be scientist director

Elmer W. Akin	Jon R. May
Arnold K. Fowler	Michael A. Oxman
Donald E. Gardner	William H. Spillane
Frank S. Lisella	Harold F. Stewart

## To be senior scientist

James M. Barbaree	John N. Krzemien
Frederick C.	James C. McFarlane
Churchill, II	Judd C. Posner
Donald A. Eliason	Jon M. Ranshand
Philip E. Hamrick	Lawrence A.
James R. King	Yamamoto

## To be scientist

Kenneth W. Boyer	John P. Lucas
Marion G. Clower, Jr.	Marco Montoya
Laurence W.	
Grossman	

## To be sanitarian director

George A. Adams	Robert A. Marsland
Vernon R. T.	James R. Reed
Bergman	Safety E. Reynolds
Ralph J. Bicknell	Johnny R. Sanders
Eduardo G. Campos	Phillip H. Shultz
Victor L. Casper	Dale J. Vandonsel
Kurt L. Feldmann	Thomas S. Willett
H. Harold Lehman	

## To be senior sanitarian

Billy D. Jackson	Robert E. Sanders
James A. Kraeger	

## To be sanitarian

Mala L. Beard	Richard J. Smith, III
Gary L. Rothfus	Russell J. Vizina

## To be veterinary director

Ezra Berman	James A. Peters
James L. Murray	Stephen Potkay

## To be senior veterinary officer

Joseph E. Pierce

## To be veterinary officer

Martin L. Morin



*To be pharmacist director*

Ray D. Crossley, II     Donald E. Hill  
Jean P. Davignon     Arthur C. Willman  
Jerome A. Halperin     Gary J. Wold

*To be senior pharmacist*

Robert J. Branagan     Douglas D. Kapaun  
Alfred Fallavollita, Jr.

*To be pharmacist*

Gordon R.     Arthur J. Lawrence, Jr.  
Baldeschwiler     James R. McKnight  
Michael R. Ball     Paul Vincent  
James W. Bredon     McSherry  
Michael S. Brown     James R. Minor  
Ralph E. Causey     James C. Myers  
Richard M. Church     Lawrence C.  
Larry D. Croll     Rosenthal  
William R. Durbin, Jr.     William M.  
Roger D. Eastep     Singleton, Jr.  
Ira J. Fox     Joseph A. Tangrea  
Gill D. Gladding     Gary P. Trosclair  
Thomas H. Hassall     Wayne M. Turner  
James C. Hayes     Richard S. Walling  
Lawrence S. Ishii     Robert L. West  
Allan S. Jio     Michael W.  
James E. Knoben     Woodford  
Gary R. Lawless     John B. Young

*To be senior assistant pharmacist*

Robert W. Boyce

*To be dietitian director*

Catherine G. Waters

*To be dietitian*

Cynthia L. W. Chung     William J. Jajenica  
Marie Louise Goulet     Emma J. Luten

*To be therapist director*

William W. Murray

*To be senior therapist*

Joseph B. Hayden     Peter T. Langan  
Richard I.     Robert M. Nelson  
Hetherington

*To be therapist*

Gary C. Hunt     Keith E. Varvel  
Jimmy R. Jones     Selden D. Wasson  
Barbara A. Sloop

*To be senior assistant therapist*

Thomas J. Stokusky

*To be health services director*

Wayne G. Brown     Earl W. Robinson  
Robert S. Callis     Wilbert Shimoda  
George F. Creswell

*To be senior health services officer*

James H. Cavender     Charles M. Kirk  
Joseph M. Cummins     Robert J. Landry  
James E. Delozier     Richard Warren  
Avraham Forman     Peterson  
Aubrey M. Hall, Jr.     George L. Raspa  
Thomas O. Harris     Terrence L. Rice  
Edward M. Hawkey     Nathan E. Seldin

*To be health services officer*

Harlan E. Amandus     Henry H. Knox  
Kenneth R. Bahm     James W. Langford  
Susanna F. Barrett     Howard C. Lerner  
William S. Collins     Edward F. Manny  
John D. Dupre     James L. Morrison  
Brian W. Flynn     Robert J. Ostrowski  
Jay D. Gile     Norman C. Schauer  
John R. Hammond     C. Bruce Smith  
Bruce Immerman     Penni I. St. Hilaire  
Paul T. Kirkham     Jon P. Yeagley

*To be senior assistant health services officer*

Edith M. Bailey     John C. Pylvik  
James D. McGlothlin

## IN THE NAVY

The following-named captains of the various staff corps of the Navy for promotion to the permanent grade or commodore, pursuant to title 10, United States Code, section 624, subject to qualifications therefor as provided by law:

## MEDICAL CORPS

Eske, Louis Henry  
Quinn, James Joseph

## SUPPLY CORPS

Abele, Robert Burke  
McKinnon, Daniel Wayne, Jr.  
McNall, Phillip Freeman

## CHAPLAIN CORPS

McNamara, John Richard

## CIVIL ENGINEER CORPS

Fort, Arthur William

## DENTAL CORPS

Sazima, Henry John

## NURSE CORPS

Nielubowicz, Mary Joan

## IN THE NAVY

The following-named captains of the Line of the Navy for promotion to the permanent grade of commodore, pursuant to title 10,

United States Code, section 624, subject to qualifications therefor as provided by law:

## UNRESTRICTED LINE OFFICER

Anderson, Edwin Knowles  
Armstrong, Clarence Ervin, Jr.  
Bacon, Roger Francis  
Boland, Bruce Raymond  
Breast, Jerry Creighton  
Brickell, Charles H., Jr.  
Butcher, Paul Donald  
Butts, Richard Franklin  
Cargill, Denny Bruce  
Chandler, David Fessenden  
Curtis, Guy Haldane, III  
Emery, Thomas Rogers Merrill  
Flannery, Gerard Joseph, Jr.  
Hagen, Dale Norman  
Higginson, John Joseph  
Hoffman, Chauncey Frazier  
Ilg, Raymond Paul  
Johnson, Jerome Lamarr  
Johnson, Wendell Norman  
Kelly, Robert Joseph  
Kihune, Robert Kalani Uichi  
Lewis, Willis Ivan, Jr.  
Mauz, Henry Herrward, Jr.  
Newman, Alvin Simmerman  
O'Connor, William Joseph M.  
Pendley, William Tyler  
Perry, Leonard Gordon  
Reynolds, James Guy  
Sackett, Dean Reynolds, Jr.  
Shaw, John Frederick  
Smith, Vernon Charles  
Steele, Robert Jay

## ENGINEERING DUTY OFFICER

Mackinnon, Malcolm, III  
Malley, Kenneth Cornelius  
Seigenthaler, Thomas Uhlian

## SPECIAL DUTY OFFICER (CRYPTOLOGY)

Clark, Charles Francis

Executive nominations received by the Secretary of the Senate February 10, 1983, under authority of the order of the Senate of February 3, 1983:

## DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

John J. Franke, Jr., of Kansas, to be Assistant Secretary of Agriculture (new position).

## DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

John P. Volz, of Louisiana, to be U.S. attorney for the eastern district of Louisiana for the term of 4 years (reappointment).

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Monday, February 14, 1983

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James David Ford, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O God, You have promised that wherever we are Your spirit is with us and Your love surrounds us. As the Psalmist tells, Your presence is with us always—in the mountain heights or the farthest oceans, at our moments of seeking after goodness to the times when we miss the mark and turn our face from Your light. We thank You, O God, that Your spirit is ever with us—encouraging, forgiving, sustaining, and giving us inward peace. For these and all Your manifold gifts, we offer this our prayer of thanksgiving. Amen.

## THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

## REMOVAL OF NAME OF MEMBER AS COSPONSOR OF H.R. 918

Mr. SMITH of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my name be removed as a cosponsor of H.R. 918.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

## DANGERS OF QUAALUDES

(Mr. SMITH of Florida asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SMITH of Florida. Mr. Speaker, on January 27, I introduced H.R. 1055, a bill which would move methaqualone—the chemical from which Quaaludes are made—from schedule II of the Controlled Substances Act to schedule I. The bill is similar to legislation that I drafted and helped pass last year in the Florida Legislature.

Quaaludes have become the most rapidly growing drug of choice for adolescents. According to south Florida medical experts, for instance, Quaaludes are quickly becoming a primary factor in automobile accidents, where their abuse alone or in combination with alcohol is estimated to cause nearly half of all traffic fatalities involving drivers between the ages of 15

and 44, as evidenced by the news article that I am attaching to the RECORD.

In Florida, the availability of Quaaludes became a major health problem. Teenagers would go to so-called stress clinics and receive prescriptions for Quaaludes. They would keep some of the pills for themselves and sell the remainder. When their supplies were exhausted, they would visit another clinic and receive another prescription. As a schedule II drug, methaqualone can be dispensed by prescription. By putting this substance in schedule I, we will be able to prevent this practice and force the removal of Quaaludes from pharmacies.

As long as Quaaludes are available in other States, we will not be able to curb entirely the abuse of this drug. Only national legislation—such as H.R. 1055—can accomplish this worthy goal.

The news article follows:

[From the Miami Herald, Feb. 4, 1983]

TRAFFIC DEATHS ARE TRACED TO QUAALUDES  
(By Steve Sternberg)

Most victims of Quaalude abuse die in accidents, not from overdoses of the drug, a Dade County medical examiner reported Friday in the Journal of the American Medical Association.

Dr. Charles V. Wetli, deputy chief medical examiner, reported that an 11-year review of 246 Quaalude-linked fatalities in Dade County suggests the number of accidental deaths caused by abuse of the sleeping pill is soaring.

In 1971, Wetli said, autopsies revealed the presence of the drug methaqualone hydrochloride in the blood or tissues of two victims.

Seventy such deaths were recorded in 1981, he said.

The most striking finding of the study is that one-third of the drug's victims died on the highways, Wetli said in an interview.

"The main thing that I'm trying to get across is that we have to look for more than just alcohol in automobile accidents," he said. "People are taking two or three drugs, combining methaqualone with something else—cocaine or alcohol—and then trying to function. That's when they get into trouble."

The rise and fall in the annual number of methaqualone deaths appears to be linked to the drug's availability, Wetli said.

In 1973, when methaqualone was cheap and could easily be obtained by prescription, autopsies revealed 17 drug-related deaths. One year later, after methaqualone was reclassified as a controlled substance, nine deaths were linked to the drug.

The alarming number of deaths in 1981, Wetli said, "coincides with . . . large-scale smuggling operations of counterfeit methaqualone tablets from South America."

Adding to the "street supply," he said, were "sham 'stress' clinics that readily provide prescriptions for methaqualone with virtually no legitimate medical indication."

Wetli said preliminary research shows only 38 methaqualone-linked deaths in 1982. The sharp decrease coincides with federal efforts to curtail smuggling and local efforts to shut down stress clinics, he said.

More than three-fourths of the 246 deaths occurred after 1977 and resulted from injuries, or trauma. Drug overdose accounted for only 27 per cent, the study indicates.

"The number of traumatic suicides skyrocketed," Wetli said. "It's very much like alcohol. In a heated argument with a boyfriend, the girl friend runs into a room, grabs a gun and shoots herself in the head."

"There were 19 cases of traumatic suicides from 1971 to 1980," he said. "Then there were 19 cases in 1981 alone. That to me is absolutely amazing."

## WOMEN AND THE BUDGET

(Mrs. SCHROEDER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Speaker, last week the Women's Research and Education Institute of the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues issued an alert on President Reagan's 1984 budget.

It was quite similar to the Institute's analysis of the 1983 budget—women and children come out on the short end of the stick.

In fiscal year 1984, the Reagan administration proposes a Federal spending freeze that would hold Federal outlays for 1984 at the 1983 level, with a 5-percent inflation factor built in. This freeze translates into further cuts in spending in domestic programs, which means women, particularly poor women with children, are out in the cold.

I was happy to see the Republican women also mention the Reagan budget's disproportionate effect on women. I think after you read the WREI report, which I will insert in today's Extensions of Remarks, you will understand why the budget cuts are becoming an important bipartisan women's issue.

## AND THE PRESIDENT WONDERS WHY PEOPLE THINK HE DOESN'T CARE ABOUT THE POOR

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Mr. STARK) is recognized for 5 minutes.

● Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, my Subcommittee on Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation is working on a plan to provide emergency aid

□ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., □ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

● This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by the Member on the floor.



to the homeless. At the same time other committees and the leadership of this body are developing the elements of a broad program of humanitarian and jobs assistance to the victims of this severe economic recession. I find it ironic that at this time of economic crisis the administration is once again proposing in its 1984 budget to eliminate the community services program.

I would like the administration to explain to me and to this Congress how it can say it cares about the misery of the unemployed and homeless when it refuses to fund the very programs that are targeted for these unfortunate Americans. Specifically, how can the administration justify merging the community services block grant with the social services block grant and reducing the combined funding by \$292 million—and still say it cares about the 12 million unemployed in this country and the 2 million homeless?

Mr. Speaker, the Nation's 932 community action agencies—which are the primary local recipients of community services block grant funds—are some of the very few federally assisted local agencies which have historically been able to bridge the wide gaps between Federal, State, and local assistance and have effectively coordinated public, private, and voluntary aid efforts for the hungry, the cold, the homeless, and the jobless.

For the past 3 years this administration has attempted to phase out the community services program. Congress has blocked these attempts and, in fiscal year 1983, provided level funding of \$360.5 million for the program. This year, the President's budget has recommended merging the community services block grant with the social services block grant, as I have stated.

I want to remind my colleagues that it has been the community action programs which have developed and implemented one of our most important and successful Federal emergency assistance programs and the community food and nutrition programs of many years ago. More recently, we can all remember the energy crisis intervention programs which began in 1976 and 1977. These programs provided emergency food, emergency shelter, and emergency heat to those in crisis, particularly the elderly, who had little or no access to complicated and inflexible public welfare programs. I also want to remind my colleagues that during the fuel assistance debates of 1976-77 the Federal agencies were unable to tell us who was in need, where they were, and in what numbers.

It was the local community action agencies and their national organizations which came forward and informed us of the scope of the need and how best to meet that need quickly and efficiently. I find it quite disturb-

ing that once again this year the executive agencies are unable to tell us who is hungry and homeless, where they are, and in what numbers. Once again we have had to rely on the sometimes anecdotal testimony of State and local and private agencies and officials to piece together the scope of need across the country.

Mr. Speaker, I think it should be clear that it would be bad public policy—particularly at this time of crisis—to agree to the administration's request for elimination of the community services program. I hope my colleagues on the Budget and Appropriations Committees will insure that no less than the current level of \$360.5 million is provided for the community services block grant in fiscal year 1984.●

#### SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Florida) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. GONZALEZ, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. STARK, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. ANNUNZIO, for 5 minutes, today.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. BILIRAKIS) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. JEFFORDS.

Mr. GINGRICH.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Florida) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. PEPPER.

Mr. RODINO in two instances.

Mr. SIKORSKI.

Mr. MORRISON of Connecticut.

Mr. SMITH of Florida.

Mr. MILLER of California.

Mr. MARKEY.

Mr. FLORIO in two instances.

Mr. SKELTON in two instances.

Mr. DASCHLE in two instances.

Mr. ANDERSON in 10 instances.

Mr. GONZALEZ in 10 instances.

Mr. BROWN of California in 10 instances.

Mr. ANNUNZIO in six instances.

Mr. JONES of Tennessee in 10 instances.

Mr. BONER of Tennessee in five instances.

Mr. NELSON of Florida.

Mr. SISISKY.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. SMITH of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 8 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, February 15, 1983, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of the rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

337. A letter from the Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to repeal the mandatory honey price support program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

338. A letter from the Director, Office of Management and Budget, Executive Office of the President, transmitting a cumulative report on rescissions and deferrals of budget authority as of February 1, 1983, pursuant to section 1014(e) of Public Law 93-344 (H. Doc. No. 98-18); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

339. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Defense, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize certain construction at military installations for fiscal year 1984, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

340. A letter from the President and Chairman, Export-Import Bank of the United States, transmitting a report on loan, guarantee, and insurance transactions supported by Eximbank during December 1982 to Communist countries; to the Committee on Banking, Financing and Urban Affairs.

341. A letter from the General Counsel, Federal Emergency Management Agency, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the National Flood Insurance Act of 1968, as amended, to extend certain authorities thereunder, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs.

342. A letter from the Secretary of Health and Human Services, transmitting a report on the Department's immunization program and goal of eliminating indigenous measles transmission; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

343. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, Department of State, transmitting notice of the proposed issuance of a license for the export of certain defense equipment sold commercially to the Philippines (Transmittal No. MC-4-83), pursuant to section 36(c) of the Arms Export Control Act; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

344. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations, transmitting a report of political contributions of Ambassador-designate James R. Bullington, and members of his family, pursuant to section 304(b)(2) of Public Law 96-465; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

345. A letter from the Comptroller, Department of State, transmitting the quarterly report as of December 31, 1982, on the programming and obligation of international narcotics control funds, pursuant to section 481 of the Foreign Assistance Act; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

346. A letter from the Director, Administrative Office of the United States Courts, transmitting draft of proposed legislation to reorganize the court system for cases and proceedings under the bankruptcy laws, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

347. A letter from the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970; to the Committee on Public Works and Transportation.

348. A letter from the Administrator, Veterans' Administration, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend title 38, United States Code, to repeal the authority for eligible veterans and eligible spouses to pursue correspondence training, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

349. A letter from the Deputy Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to accept gifts and bequests for the purposes of the Department of the Treasury, and for other purposes; jointly, to the Committees on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs and Ways and Means.

350. A letter from the Under Secretary of State for Management, transmitting the second annual report on implementation of the Foreign Service Act of 1980, pursuant to sections 2402 (a) and (c) of Public Law 96-465; jointly, to the Committees on Foreign Affairs and Post Office and Civil Service.

351. A letter from the Under Secretary of State for Management, transmitting the second annual report on implementation of the Foreign Service Act of 1980, pursuant to section 2402(a)(4) of Public Law 96-465; jointly, to the Committees on Foreign Affairs and Post Office and Civil Service.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 5 of rule X and clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions

were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DASCHLE:

H.R. 1429. A bill to amend the Social Security Act and the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to make certain reforms in the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GOODLING:

H.R. 1430. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to reduce the amount of foreign earned income which is excludable from gross income; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PEPPER:

H.R. 1431. A bill to amend the Emergency Homeowners' Relief Act to require the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to provide emergency mortgage assistance under such act whenever the rate of mortgage delinquencies reaches a specified level, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs.

By Mr. HAWKINS:

H. Res. 81. Resolution providing amounts from the contingent fund of the House for expenses of investigations and studies by the Committee on House Administration in the 1st session of the 98th Congress; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. HOWARD (for himself and Mr. SNYDER):

H. Res. 82. Resolution providing amounts from the contingent fund of the House for expenses of investigations and studies by the Committee on Public Works and Transportation in the 1st session of the 98th Congress; to the Committee on House Administration.

#### ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions as follows:

H.R. 1015: Mr. MAVROULES, Mr. GRAY, Mr. CROCKETT, and Mr. ZABLOCKI.

H.R. 1016: Ms. OAKAR, Mr. GRAY, Mr. CROCKETT, and Mr. ZABLOCKI.

H.R. 1092: Mr. BENNETT, Mr. FORSYTHE, Mr. HALL of Ohio, Mr. LAFALCE, Mr. PRICE, Mr. WILLIAMS of Montana, and Mr. WON PAT.

H.R. 1181: Mrs. BOXER.

H.R. 1245: Mr. DWYER of New Jersey, Mr. BOLAND, Mr. STOKES, Mr. TALLON, Mr. WEISS, Mr. YOUNG of Missouri, Mr. RATCHFORD, and Mr. HORTON.

H.J. Res. 58: Mr. SUNIA, Mrs. HALL of Indiana, Mr. LEWIS of California, Mr. DELLUMS, Mrs. COLLINS, Mr. HOYER, Mr. RUSSO, and Mr. GRAY.

H. Con. Res. 39: Mr. BERMAN, Mr. GUARINI, Mr. RICHARDSON, Mr. PORTER, Mr. KOSTMAYER, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. MAVROULES, Mr. LEVINE of California, Mr. JEFFORDS, Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. CROCKETT, Mr. CORRADA, and Mr. CHANDLER.

#### DELETIONS OF SPONSORS FROM PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, sponsors were deleted from public bills and resolutions as follows:

H.R. 918: Mr. SMITH of Florida.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

26. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Patriotic Order Sons of America, Philadelphia, Pa., relative to American traditions; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

27. Also, petition of C. R. Lyngaas, et al., Mauston, Wis., relative to salaries; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

28. Also, petition of Marian Zabrockas, et al., New Lisbon, Wis., relative to the congressional wage increase; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.



## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## A FINAL BATTLE WITH AGENT ORANGE

HON. THOMAS A. DASCHLE

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1983

● Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. Speaker, several days ago yet another leader in the agent orange movement, Charlie Hartz, passed away. Charlie believes that his cancer resulted from exposure to agent orange in Vietnam. As the following articles relate, Charlie was what many would call a "free spirit." Yet, Charlie became an excellent soldier who did not blame his Government for his cancer. Charlie Hartz deserved better than to die a painful death from brain cancer at the age of 35.

It is with individuals like Charlie in mind that I plan to reintroduce legislation which would compensate Vietnam veterans like Charlie who suffer from illnesses or diseases which may be caused by agent orange. There is an abundance of scientific knowledge that links dioxin exposure to adverse human health effects. Though no conclusive link between agent orange exposure and disease has been proven, there is no conclusive evidence to prove it does not cause illness or disease either.

The veteran, in this catch-22 situation should be given the benefit of the doubt, and the Government should have to prove that Charlie and others who served in Vietnam died from causes unrelated to their service there. It is the least we can do. Though the following articles are a bit dated, I hope Members will read them and consider cosponsoring my legislation.

The articles follow:

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Dec. 2, 1979]

## A FINAL BATTLE WITH AGENT ORANGE: HANGING ON FOR A VIET VET, THE FINAL BATTLE

(By Mark Bowden)

This is a sad, bitter last battle for Charlie Hartz, not at all what he would have imagined or preferred.

He is 33, and has a wife and four small children. Inside his skull, deep in his brain, a tumor is ticking out the final months, weeks, days—the final cherished moments of his life. It is always with him. He knots his fists, one at his forehead and the other at the base of his skull, and twists them to illustrate his pain.

"It's like a rod sticking plain through, that's slowly twisting, twisting," he said. "Sometimes it hurts so bad I have to crawl up the steps on all fours to bed."

Hartz, along with hundreds of other Vietnam War veterans who are suffering severe

medical problems, or whose children have been born with serious defects, believes his fatal illness was caused by exposure to Agent Orange, a defoliant used by the Army in Vietnam.

If Hartz and the others are right (no definite link between their suffering and the herbicide has been proven), their plight is especially poignant. Many of the American soldiers who received the most exposure to Agent Orange were the most daring—front-line troops who patrolled enemy-occupied zones where the defoliant was sprayed. Hartz was a member of the Tiger Forces, elite squads who frequently lived for weeks on end in the jungle, searching out and confronting Viet Cong and North Vietnamese troops.

This burly, black-bearded Chester County man was always a believer. He didn't question America's involvement in Vietnam; he fought, and then volunteered to go back and fight again. But his one last battle has turned out to be against the powers he once so eagerly served.

Hartz was the second Philadelphia-area veteran to file suit against the Dow Chemical Co. and five other firms who manufactured Agent Orange. Bob McNichol, who was the first, died of a brain tumor in August. The suits are aimed directly at the chemical companies, but the Army, which as an agency of the U.S. government is immune from such legal actions, is an indirect target. Hartz and McNichol's survivors hope eventually to force the Veterans Administration to recognize Agent Orange-related illnesses as legitimate combat disabilities.

Two weeks ago, a federal district judge in New York ruled that Hartz, McNichol's bearded family and the family of another deceased Vietnam veteran from New York had the right to sue Dow and the other manufacturers. The three families are seeking damages that could total up to \$40 billion. Their case may be considered by the federal court next year, in conjunction with those of hundreds of other Vietnam veterans claiming similar ill effects. The litigation is expected to drag on for years. Hartz is not expected to last that long.

"The kind of tumor I have is called astrocytoma," he explained. "The tumor is so far inside my brain that to operate on it would leave me without any of my senses, without the ability to move, or even think. It would leave me a vegetable. And do you believe it? Those suckers wanted to do it! I said to the doctor, 'Hey, how 'bout they do it on you?' He said, 'But I'm a doctor.' I said, 'Yeah, and I'm a human being.'"

So Charlie Hartz waits. He smokes marijuana (with the tacit blessing of local authorities) to ease the intense pain in his head. He savors life at home with his wife, Judy, and his children. The cancer has whittled away at him so that some days he hasn't the strength to stay awake for more than a few hours. He goes hunting on week-ends this time of year with his father and brothers, but is too weak to stray far from the cabin. Once he was the strongest and the bravest of them. Now he just minds the cabin.

## ILLNESS TAKES TOLL

In old photographs he is thick and muscular, but the cancer has softened his body. His skin is sallow, sickly, but his eyes are still bright and playful when the pain is not in them. He jokes about the cancer with unforced candor, with a fatalism that only deep courage can sustain. And he fights it. He can't fight it with his fists or with his knowledge or with his expertise with weapons and munitions any more, so he fights it with his will.

"I'll show those suckers," he said. "Won't they be surprised when they're still sending me checks 20 years from now." But hopelessness overtakes him from time to time like a passing dark cloud. His eyes glisten. "Hey I always wanted to see my kids grow up, you know?" he said.

Will keeps him going, will to grasp every moment. Hartz's approach to life has always been wholehearted, reckless, fearless. He starred as a wrestler at Pottstown High School and played first-string lineman for the school's undefeated football team in 1964. He was a fighter, both in the wrestling ring and outside it. In the ring he was one of the best in Pennsylvania—he missed his shot at the state championship in 1964 after he dislocated his shoulder in practice.

"We had this big match coming up with our rival high school, and my father had bet a wad of money on me against the other school's best wrestler," Hartz recalled. "Just before that meet I dislocated my shoulder. I fought anyway. I had my arm taped against my body, and wrestled with only one free arm. I pinned that sucker right off, but my shoulder hurt so bad after that I never made it to the championships."

## BRUSHES WITH LAW

His fighting outside the ring, along with that reckless, fearless style, kept Hartz at odds with local police. He and his friends learned to make explosives in chemistry class and amused themselves by setting off loud blasts in vacant lots. He was picked up for minor offenses or pranks—once Hartz and a friend, upset about some vague insult he can no longer recall, tore down nearly one hundred clotheslines in Pottstown and chopped them into little pieces.

In his senior year, drunk and in the company of an older friend who had a more serious criminal record, Hartz set off for Florida one night on a stolen motorcycle. When the bike ran out of gas they stole a car.

"We made it all the way to Tennessee," he said, his eyes twinkling with pride as he recalled the youthful daring of the episode, the fearless, free-form fun of it all. "Tennessee's a pretty good ways off."

Without the money or inclination for college, Hartz worked for several years at hard laboring jobs after he graduated, and eventually sought escape in the Army. He enlisted and signed up for every course of study or program that might get him to Vietnam.

"I wanted to go to Vietnam bad," he said. "It was my duty, I figured. I'd seen the John Wayne and Audie Murphy movies. Now it was my turn. I was an American boy, we were at war, so I figured that's where I belonged. I couldn't wait to get there."

He got his wish. For two tours of duty, Sgt. Hartz was in the thick of the Vietnam War, volunteering again and again for hair-raising missions in the jungle. His squad once spent more than three months on patrol. The kind of action most GIs saw only once or twice in a tour of duty was almost daily work for Hartz. Some of his best friends were killed before his eyes, some horribly. On occasion, he says patrols were so vicious and frightening that men in his unit committed suicide on the trail. He was awarded Bronze Stars for valor summarily at the end of each of his two tours, was wounded seriously twice, and won two Army Commendations for valor.

"I was convinced I couldn't get killed, so I was rarely afraid," Hartz said very frankly. "I can't really explain why. I just had this dream one time where I was at an airport and this little girl with blond hair came running down the steps to me. She was my daughter. And I just had this unshakeable feeling that that was going to happen at some point in the future."

"I enjoyed what I was doing in Vietnam; I was damn good at it. When I got home, I volunteered right away to go back, even though I had just gotten married. Now I look back at our involvement in Vietnam and it seems ridiculous, like a big joke. But for me it was great; I was a soldier, and that was our war."

Three of Hartz's four children were born with serious problems in the years after he returned from Vietnam. Two of them nearly died. Lung disorders, heart problems, hydrocephalus, meningitis—the children recovered in all cases, and the Hartzes never pondered any underlying cause.

Hartz's tumor didn't show up until a decade after he left Vietnam for the last time. He was working as a recruiting sergeant in Allentown when he banged his head in an auto accident, and afterwards began suffering dizziness, seizures, loss of memory, and disorientation. Tests at Walter Reed Army Medical Center in Washington confirmed the existence of a brain tumor that doctors said had been growing inside his skull for some time.

"Before the radiation treatment at Walter Reed I figured they could cure whatever I had," Hartz recalled sadly. "After they gave me this big dose one afternoon, the doctor, an Army major, came by my bed in the crowded ward. You had to raise your voice to be heard. I lifted myself up on one elbow and asked, jokingly, 'Well, how long have I got, Doc?' And he looked back at me dead serious. 'About two years,' he said, just like that. I was just joking with him, you know. 'Two years,' he says, with an attitude, like, OK, next patient. I felt like I'd just been hit over the head with a baseball bat."

Radiation treatment made most of the hair fall out of the left side of Hartz's head. He still has a hardy, boisterous, cheerful manner, but after an hour of conversation he must wrestle with himself to stay awake. He begins to stutter, and is embarrassed by it. He apologizes.

"I used to be a silver-tongued bastard," he said, and breaks the momentary awkwardness with laughter.

Death is now his constant companion, but he will not go gently.

"We fought that war to boost our economy. I'm convinced of that," he said. "I'm not bitter about the Army. I loved the Army. I was set to spend the rest of my career in uniform. It's these manufacturers, the people who made the guns and ammunition and bombs and planes and this damned

Agent Orange who profited. They made a killing," he said, smiling weakly at his pun.

Dow and the five other firms (Monsanto Co., Hercules Inc., Diamond Shamrock Corp., North American Phillips Corp. and its subsidiary, Thompson-Hayward Chemical Co.) have consistently denied that Agent Orange was harmful to American GIs. They have appealed the most recent federal court ruling, and point correctly to the lack of any definite link between exposure to the herbicide and subsequent illnesses or birth defects.

"All we want is some of their profits back, to pay our medical bills, to send our kids to college when we aren't around any more," Hartz said. "They owe us that much."

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Aug. 26, 1980]

#### A DYING VIETNAM VET VIDEOTAPES TESTIMONY

(By Linda Herskowitz)

While attorneys, secretaries and other passers-by strode by without a second glance, a small knot of men gathered in a corridor of the Federal Courthouse for several hours here yesterday and compared notes on their personal travails.

Most of them were Vietnam veterans who had come to provide moral support for Charles Hartz, 34, formerly of Spring City, Chester County, who was behind closed doors giving testimony on videotape for use in his lawsuit against Dow Chemical Co. and five other chemical manufacturers.

Hartz, one of three veterans stricken with brain tumors who filed the suit in September 1979, is the only survivor. The suit alleges that the veterans' tumors were caused by exposure to Agent Orange, a herbicide used widely as a defoliant in Vietnam. The suit seeks to establish a \$44 billion trust fund for any victims and their families from the earnings of the five companies.

Because Hartz is not expected to live to testify at the as-yet unscheduled trial, which has been joined by about 300 other veterans, he has been permitted by Judge George C. Pratt, who will preside at the trial, to videotape his testimony. The first round took place in February, when Hartz was questioned by his attorneys and attorneys for Dow.

Hartz recently moved to Alabama, but he returned to Philadelphia for yesterday's second round of testimony.

Like Hartz, some of the men waiting outside for him in the courthouse corridor returned from Vietnam apparently irretrievably broken. Ishmael Rios, a slight man who said he could have been a jockey, said he had suffered from a variety of diseases for years before he read news reports about Agent Orange and began connecting them with his illnesses.

Rios, 29, of Camden, was covered with red blotches on his skin. Among his ailments, he said, was lupus, an inflammatory disease of the connective tissue that attacked him soon after his medical discharge.

A woman paced the corridor holding a listless baby with pale skin and shining eyes, and with only one arm coming out of a crisply ruffled white dress.

One man from Glenside, dressed in a camouflage jacket, said his wife had left him after telling him he was crazy. Now, he says, he has collected classified documents on government studies on Agent Orange and is writing a book.

Finally, Hartz himself emerged from the room. He was preceded by chemical company attorneys who left quickly.

"See, a lot of people think I'm here for the money," he said, standing outside the courthouse dressed in worn blue jeans and a plaid shirt. "I'm just trying to get money for guys who've come back from Vietnam with children with birth defects and illness." ●

#### NELSON SUPPORTS AID FOR SCIENCE AND MATH EDUCATION

#### HON. BILL NELSON

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1983

● Mr. NELSON of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to have this opportunity to speak in strong support of H.R. 1310. I am a cosponsor of this legislation which is a combination of two bills—the Emergency Mathematics and Science Education Act and the National Engineering and Science Personnel Act. I was originally a cosponsor of each of these vital bills also. This hearing today is an important step in securing a speedy enactment of this important legislation.

The global economy of the 1980's will be one of high technology in homes, schools, businesses, and government services. Today, the United States is a world technological leader primarily as the result of our national resource of skilled scientists, technologists, engineers, and technicians. This leadership is essential for our economic and national security.

U.S. technological supremacy has eroded as other industrial countries have developed and implemented programs for expanding their technological capability. Our technological edge is threatened by a shortage of skilled engineers and scientists and, even more seriously, by the lack of general scientific and mathematical literacy necessary for the majority of citizens who provide the technical and consumer support of our economy. Technological literacy is also becoming increasingly important for full participation in our society and for individual personal development.

Our future national economic and social well-being is written by our schools and their ability to prepare youth for effective participation in a technological, information society. There is increasing evidence that the mathematical and scientific literacy of our youth and adults is being neglected.

If we are to respond effectively it is essential that we:

Establish the improvement of education and mathematical and scientific literacy as a priority for action;

Increase and improve the pool of qualified teachers of mathematics and science who can adequately prepare our youth for the emerging technological society;



Restructure and revise the mathematics and science curriculum to prepare the nonspecialist as well as the specialist and to modify the sequencing of curriculum to match the stages of intellectual development and ability;

Increase the amount of time students spend on academic studies and increase the availability of scientific equipment and facilities; and

Develop comprehensive programs that can further general computer literacy, including computer applications that will lead to increased mathematical and scientific literacy.

This legislation is an important first step in addressing our current crisis. Our leadership in technology for the world is at stake. We cannot afford to wait any longer.

I commend Mr. PERKINS, Mr. SIMON, and Mr. GOODLING from the Education and Labor Committee and my chairman, Mr. FUQUA, Mr. WALGREN, and Mr. MCCURDY for their insight in bringing this legislation before us in such a timely manner. I urge its passage as soon as possible.●

#### HEROIC COURAGE OF OFFICER JAMES D. McCANN

#### HON. NORMAN SISISKY

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1983

● Mr. SISISKY. Mr. Speaker, in our own personal frustrations of traveling through the aftereffects of the blizzard of 1983, it is easy to forget the larger human dramas that unfold around us.

Over the weekend, the *Marine Electric*, a coal-carrying vessel, sank off the Virginia coast. Of the 36 crewmen aboard, 24 are known dead, and 9 additional crewmembers are missing and presumed dead.

But a special act of bravery saved the lives of three crewmen. Lowered into the high seas, petty officer second class, James David McCann, risked his life so that three men could live. James McCann swam to each exhausted sailor, and one by one, helped them into the Coast Guard rescue basket. He spent more than an hour in those icy waters, helping to rescue the survivors and to recover the bodies of those who could not be saved.

In these troubled times, it is good to know that people of heroic courage still exist. I would like to add my thanks to those of the survivors and their families to Officer McCann and the other members of the Navy and Coast Guard helicopters involved in the rescue mission. The people in McCann's hometown of Emporia, Va., are very proud today.●

#### PROPOSED EMERGENCY HOME-OWNERS RELIEF ACT AMENDMENTS

#### HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1983

● Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation that addresses the growing problem of home mortgage foreclosures. It would create a program of emergency loans to homeowners who have lost, through involuntary unemployment, the means to continue paying their mortgages.

Largely because of skyrocketing unemployment, the number of homes in foreclosure has more than doubled over the past 3 years—from 71,404 in the third quarter of 1979 to 171,740 in the third quarter of 1982, according to the Congressional Research Service. In the third quarter of 1982, according to the Mortgage Bankers Association of America, 5.7 percent of all home mortgage loans were either in default or delinquent. These statistics reveal the cruellest impact of unemployment, for most people default on their mortgages only when they are totally without other resources.

Mr. Speaker, in 1975 the Emergency Homeowners Relief Act was passed by Congress in recognition that homeownership is a keystone of a stable society, and that an enlightened government helps preserve national stability when it helps keep individuals from losing their homes in time of economic distress. Unfortunately, however, the 1975 law gave the Housing and Urban Development Department authority to trigger such aid, and HUD set a level so high that the program never was implemented, and went out of existence in 1977.

My legislation would trigger the aid sooner, when the Federal Home Loan Bank Board mortgage delinquency series shows that 1.3 percent of mortgage payments have been delinquent for 60 days or more. This would allow those who need help to get it when it could still help them, not at the last minute, when it might be too late.

My legislation would increase the amount of assistance from \$250 a month, under the 1975 law, to \$350 a month or the amount determined to be necessary to supplement what the homeowner is deemed capable of contributing to the mortgage payment, whichever is less. The total amount available would be increased from \$1.5 billion to \$2.5 billion.

I wish to emphasize that these loans, guaranteed by the FHLBB, would go only to homeowners unemployed or underemployed who are deemed capable of repayment; would be for 12 months—subject to another 12-month extension—and would be repaid with interest.

Mr. Speaker, let me also emphasize that this legislation would not set a new precedent, but rather would revise a previously created program and make it truly workable. Such a program could not only help thousands of Americans keep homes they stand in danger of losing through no fault of their own, but also could help preserve the stability of our great American society.●

#### PRESERVE SOIL AND WATER RESOURCES

#### HON. JAMES M. JEFFORDS

OF VERMONT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1983

● Mr. JEFFORDS. Mr. Speaker, last Congress I had the privilege of serving as the ranking Republican member on the House Subcommittee on Conservation, Credit, and Rural Development. Working closely with the subcommittee chairman, Ed JONES, we developed and enacted several new, improved Federal programs including matching grants for conservation districts, a special areas conservation program and a conservation loan program. We are now working toward funding these worthy programs but as you know Federal dollars are in short supply.

Realizing the budget realities, we also worked together to encourage the private sector to play a bigger role in soil and water conservation. Out of the efforts of many people, the National Endowment for Soil and Water Conservation was established. The Christian Science Monitor on January 5, 1983, ran an article written by Chairman JONES entitled, "Saving the Soil—By Private Initiative," which explains the effort and which I am inserting into the RECORD.

The President's Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives has reviewed the Endowment and found the effort to be consistent with the President's objectives and priorities. I am inserting into the RECORD for your information a copy of the letter from the President's task force to Mr. Emmett Barker, Chairman of the National Endowment for Soil and Water Conservation.

I feel that the private sector and individuals have a responsibility to help preserve our soil and water resources. Many agriculturally related businesses profit directly from the very agricultural production which creates the current threat. Certainly the Government, the farmers, and the private sector must recognize our responsibilities and meet this problem head on.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Jan. 5, 1983]

#### SAVING THE SOIL—BY PRIVATE INITIATIVE

(By Ed Jones)

Wasting good farmland is senseless, both for today's well-being and for future security. Yet as a nation we are busy wasting the greatest body of prime farmland on the face of the earth. That is foolish and, if history is any lesson, it can be suicidal.

This problem springs from many roots, not the least of which is the disastrous state of the farm economy. Farmers are allowing their capital assets—including soil—to deteriorate.

A national sense of stewardship for the land must be revived—one that can be supported by all Americans, not just the few who work the land. This sense of stewardship is what a recently formed organization—the National Endowment for Soil and Water Conservation—is all about.

Why national endowment? Because it is needed as the third leg in a conservation system which includes older efforts by the federal government and more recent programs carried on by state and local governments.

The Federal efforts began on a substantial scale after the dust bowl days of the 1930s. They continue today and are indispensable, but they cannot do the complete job. State and local governments, which earlier made few contributions to conservation, have been increasing their efforts substantially since 1970. The gap now in the shift away from total federal reliance is an organized involvement of the private sector in promoting conservation—and that, too, is changing.

In 1977 several of us—alarmed by the growing problems affecting our soil and water resources—began discussing alternatives. We were looking for new ways to involve the American public to energize the conservation effort. As work progressed, we looked to the National Endowment for the Arts and National Endowment for Humanities as models. Now, after several years of effort, we take pride in the formation earlier this year of the National Endowment for Soil and Water Conservation—a privately funded and controlled nonprofit organization.

The endowment is a tax-exempt financial mechanism for channeling private support for improving soil and water conservation practices. The endowment's goal is to encourage and help private land users to upgrade their conservation management. It will accomplish this by using tax-exempt contributions to fund innovative yet inexpensive conservation projects and activities. Contributions from the general public, businesses, corporations, and foundations will provide the base of support.

The time to act is now. As Lester Brown of the Worldwatch Institute says, "We have not inherited the earth from our fathers, we are borrowing it from our children." The endowment is based on the belief that the American people do not want their children to pay future penalties for our failure to act today. It is a private sector initiative whose time has come.●

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### THE 237TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF GEN. THADDEUS KOSCIUSZKO

#### HON. GERRY SIKORSKI

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1983

● Mr. SIKORSKI. Mr. Speaker, on February 12, this Nation observed the 237th anniversary of the birth of Gen. Thaddeus Kosciuszko, a valiant Polish patriot whose contributions were decisive in this country's revolutionary struggle for independence.

Born in Poland of a long line of Polish officers, Thaddeus Kosciuszko grew up during a difficult period in the history of his beloved nation, for he had to witness the partition and domination of Poland by foreign enemies. Discouraged by events at home, and at the same time inspired by word of the American struggle and the newly proclaimed American Declaration of Independence, Thaddeus Kosciuszko set sail for America. His brilliant military mind was immediately utilized by the Continental Congress which put Kosciuszko to work in engineering the military defense of the Colonies.

The essence of the British military strategy was to split the New England Colonies from the rest of the Colonies by control of the Hudson Valley—a strategy which, if successful, would surely have meant ultimate defeat for the Americans. It was at this point that Kosciuszko made one of his most noted contributions. His engineering genius is given much credit for an American victory at the Battle of Saratoga—a battle which halted the British advance in the North and is described by many as one of the 10 most important battles in recorded history.

Perhaps equally impressive was the fortress designed by Kosciuszko and built at West Point. Its engineering was so skillful that the British dared not attack for fear of early defeat.

After being frustrated in the North, the British moved their offensive to the Carolinas and, after proving himself so valuable in the North, Kosciuszko was made engineer of the South, where he was relied upon for selection of campsites, transportation, and fortifications. It was to a great measure through his ingenuity that the British were prevented from linking their forces. As a result, General Cornwallis was forced to surrender at Yorktown.

When independence had been achieved in America, General Kosciuszko returned to Poland to fight yet another battle for freedom in his divided homeland. As Catherine the Great started the second partitioning of Poland, General Kosciuszko with his ill-equipped peasant army fought valiantly against insurmountable odds.

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His small army was crushed and he was severely wounded and imprisoned. Finally released after the death of Catherine, Kosciuszko was exiled from his homeland and later returned to Philadelphia.

His small brick Philadelphia house at 301 Pine Street was visited by an impressive array of distinguished individuals: Cabinet members, Senators, Governors, and foreign diplomats. However, his most distinguished and regular guest was then Vice President Thomas Jefferson, with whom Kosciuszko shared many hours.

General Kosciuszko later returned to Europe and settled in Switzerland, vowing never to set foot on Polish soil while another flag flew over it. He died in Switzerland in 1817, a poor and discouraged man. It is ironic that while he had helped Americans to gain their freedom, he never saw the joy of liberty in the eyes of the Polish people.

The guidance and ingenuity Kosciuszko gave to the American Colonies was a service this country could never hope to repay. Yet, there are few monuments to his great contributions.

His heroism and dedication to the cause of freedom in America as well as his beloved Poland, and his compassion for the sovereign human right of self-determination generated the respect of Vice President Jefferson who said of his Polish friend:

He is as pure a son of liberty as I have ever known, and of that liberty which is to go to all and not the few and rich alone.

Mr. Speaker, I am honored to join Polish Americans in the Sixth District of Minnesota, which I am proud to represent, as they pause this week to commemorate the birth of Thaddeus Kosciuszko and the enormous contributions he made to freedom of all Americans.●

### SOCIAL SECURITY LOOPHOLE REFORM ACT OF 1983

#### HON. THOMAS A. DASCHLE

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1983

● Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing the Social Security Loophole Reform Act of 1983. This legislation is designed to close loopholes in the social security program that result in the loss of millions of dollars a year to the program. In fact, either through new revenues or cost savings this legislation will provide an additional \$1 billion a year to the system. Though this figure represents only \$7 billion of an expected \$169 billion shortfall over the next 7 years, it is a substantial amount nonetheless. If adopted, these changes may preclude the need for even greater changes in



the benefit structure or increases in taxes than those already proposed by the National Commission on Social Security Reform. I am pleased that a number of the changes I propose to make are also under consideration by the Ways and Means Social Security Subcommittee. Briefly, I will describe the six sections of my legislation.

First and probably most important in my opinion is the need to revise the guidelines currently used to invest surplus social security trust funds. Figures provided to me by the General Accounting Office revealed that had a two-tier investment mechanism been in place since 1977 an additional \$6.3 billion could have been earned by the social security trust funds. Thus I am proposing that a two-tier investment schedule be used which would pay the trust fund investments the higher of two interest rate formulas. One rate would be based on the average rate of interest received on all Government securities of 4 years or more length—long term—and the other would be the average rate of interest earned on Government securities of less than 4 years—short term. In this fashion, surplus social security funds will receive the maximum return when invested yet will be consistent with the rate of interest received on other Government investments.

A second part of the Reform Act would bring the legislative branch of Government, including the Congress into the program. Though no cost analysis is currently available, I would expect the savings from this portion of the legislation to be substantial. Perhaps more important than the amount of new revenue to the program is the symbolism of Congress contributing and otherwise participating in a program that it exerts direct control over. Confidence in the program's future will be immeasurably increased should Congress link its own retirement system to that of millions of other Americans.

Third, efforts need to be undertaken to prevent the payment of benefits to those who are deceased. It is estimated that \$60 million a year is lost in this manner. Just the other day, a random check by Social Security Commissioner, John Svahn, discovered that \$6 million had been paid to 1,400 deceased social security recipients. If a spot check found payments of this magnitude, there have got to be many more cases yet to be discovered.

Another problem area has been the fact that uncashed social security checks automatically revert to the General Treasury instead of the social security trust funds where they originated. My legislation would require that after 12 months uncashed social security checks would automatically be credited to the social security trust funds. An estimated \$20-30 million a year is lost in this fashion.

I also believe it is important to prohibit the withdrawal of nonprofit or State and local organizations from the social security program. If the program's vitality is to be maintained, we cannot allow the rug to be pulled out from under it by groups who have the ability to terminate their participation in the program. This is unfair to the millions of wage earners who have no choice but to remain in the program. Savings in this portion of my legislation would total approximately \$500 million a year.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I believe that one of the mistakes that is partially responsible for the shaky condition of the program today is the fact that benefits were expanded without a simultaneous increase in contributions. The original philosophy of the program was that only those who contributed to the program should be allowed to benefit. Exceptions had to be created, however, for those who by the nature of their work were unable to contribute to the program, such as farmwives and members of religious orders.

A whole new class of noncontributing beneficiaries has been created, however, by many nonresident aliens who contribute to social security for a short while and then return to their native country to remarry or get married expressly for the purpose of receiving spouse and dependency benefits for their wife and any children they may have. This preposterous abuse of the system is a slap in the face to every elderly American who ekes out an existence on social security and perhaps a small amount of savings they may have.

The last segment of my legislation will thus limit social security benefits only to those noncitizens who contribute to the program. Dependency benefits would be prohibited unless an individual at some point becomes a U.S. citizen or contributes on their own to the program. A minimum of \$200 million a year could be saved should this proposal be enacted.

In these difficult economic times the senior citizens of our Nation expect and deserve a sound retirement program. My legislation, if approved, would make the program more accountable and show our senior citizens that Congress recognizes shortcomings in the system and is willing to address them. Though the total savings or increases in revenue in this legislation will not alone save social security they will improve the overall condition of the program and contribute perhaps more importantly to the notion that a good program can be made better and more equitable for all.●

## WELLINGTON-NAPOLEON-IX SCHOOL DISTRICT

### HON. IKE SKELTON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1983

● Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, in the recent publication of the Missouri Alumnus, the University of Missouri publication, there is an interesting article about the outstanding students from the Wellington-Napoleon-IX School District in Lafayette County. Wellington has fewer than 800 residents, but the outstanding records being made by its recent graduates at MU speak very well for the community and for its school system. I compliment principal Cecil Flynn and the recently retired superintendent Jack Bodenhamer for the job well-done in preparing the students for their outstanding careers at Mizzou.●

## THE CONTINUING CRISIS OF FAMILY VIOLENCE

### HON. GEORGE MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1983

● Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, assistance for victims of family violence is long overdue. Since I first introduced legislation in 1978 to address this problem, tragically, the incidence of family violence has not abated. The current recession also has seriously exacerbated the frequency and severity of domestic violence, at a time when emergency shelter and social services are strained to the limit.

For 6 years I have been working to find solutions to the problems of battered women and children in the homes of America. Together with my colleagues Congresswomen BARBARA MIKULSKI and LINDY BOGGS, with whom I again introduced this legislation last week, I have sought to gain broader understanding of the severity of this problem affecting women and men without regard to their income, race or geographic locality.

Since our efforts began, a broad network of community groups, law enforcement officials, shelter workers and public and private voluntary and religious organizations has worked tirelessly to develop extensive State legislation to make new services and legal protections available to victims of family violence. However, just as these protections and strong grassroots activities have taken hold, changes in the Nation's economy have placed families as well as the shelters and agencies trying to serve them under enormous pressure.

Testimony on the impact of unemployment on children and families, presented to my committee just last week, demonstrates that family violence continues to occur with startling frequency. The Family Service Association of America reported in its national survey of member agencies that 74 percent of the programs responding had seen increased incidents of family violence in their caseloads since last year. Community reports from shelter operators in several States indicate that unemployment increases the likelihood of first-time battering; increases the frequency and severity of abuse where violence has occurred previously; increases the demand for shelter and related support services; increases the number of victims (including children) remaining in or returning to abusive environments due to the lack of economic options and/or sympathy for the abuser because of his unemployed status; and results in a greater percentage of middle and upper income women seeking domestic violence services.

From all indications, shelters throughout the country are continuing to experience a shortage of space and are being forced to deny shelter to victims and their children. Many States continue to lack any shelter facility in many areas of the State.

In light of this new evidence, Congress must reexamine the problem of violence in families in the context of this legislation and other programs which will come before us for consideration. I urge my colleagues to join with me to support the millions of victims of family violence who currently have no place to turn for protection, refuge and assistance.●

#### THE FLORENCE AMERICAN CEMETERY AND MEMORIAL

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1983

● Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, this past week, the young and old of America have been fascinated by the television series "Winds of War" based on Herman Wouk's novel on World War II. To the young it is a tremendously interesting story and perhaps somewhat of a fictionalized lesson in history. To us who served with our Armed Forces in World War II, it brings back memories, both good and bad, of a time when a spirit of patriotism and dedication was our whole life.

I bring this matter up at this time because it was on January 15 that Congressmen FISH, GUARINI, MAZZOLI, and I paid a visit to the Florence American Cemetery and Memorial, one of 14 permanent American World War II military cemetery memorials

erected on foreign soil by the American Battle Monuments Commission.

The Florence American Cemetery, covering 70 acres located approximately 7½ miles south of Florence on the Via Cassia, is the final resting place of 4,398 of our honored dead, each marked by a headstone. A wide mall of fine grass separates the graves area into two parts. The servicemen and servicewomen interred here represent 39 percent of the temporary burials originally made between Rome and the Alps. Most died in the fighting which occurred after the capture of Rome in June 1944.

Overlooking the grave area from high ground is the memorial itself consisting of two open courts with a connecting "Wall of the Missing" which is inscribed with the names of 1,409 comrades in arms who were missing in action or lost and buried at sea.

Running the full length of the wall above the names is the following inscription:

Here are recorded the names of Americans who gave their lives in the service of their country and who sleep in unknown graves.

The atria or courts serve as chapels with six marble wall panels containing appropriate inscriptions taken from the Bible, prayer books, and Greek poets.

A 69-foot-high pylon or stele surmounted by a sculptured figure representing the Spirit of Peace hovering over the fallen is located in front of the Wall of the Missing. The following dedicatory inscription appears on the pylon in English and Italian:

1941-1945

In Proud Memory of Her Sons and in Humble Tribute to their Sacrifices this Memorial has been erected by the United States of America.

My colleagues and I were grateful for being given the opportunity of placing a wreath at the memorial during our visit.

This narration would be incomplete without first of all commending the American Battle Monuments Commission for maintaining in an exemplary manner the sites around the world of the final resting place of our brave men and women who died in the service of our country.

But we wish to pay special tribute to Joseph Bevilacqua, the superintendent of the Florence American Military Cemetery and Memorial and his dedicated Italian maintenance staff who day after day keep this small piece of hallowed American territory, dear to the hearts of all Americans, in impeccable condition. We were impressed by Mr. Bevilacqua's devotion to duty and the pride he and his collaborators displayed in the work they were doing.

We thank him for creating for us a moment of reflection and sympathy.

To Americans who travel abroad, I counsel you to make a pilgrimage to these military cemetery memorials

wherever the opportunity arises. These are the heroes who have given us what we have to be grateful for today.●

#### LET'S ACCOMMODATE THE NEEDS OF WOMEN TRAVELERS

HON. JAMES J. FLORIO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1983

● Mr. FLORIO. Mr. Speaker, as the chairman of the House Subcommittee on Commerce, Transportation and Tourism, I am concerned about the state of our Nation's tourism industry. As I am sure my colleagues are aware, tourism is a growth industry which contributes a considerable amount of revenue and jobs to our economy. Women play an important role as both providers and consumers in the tourism industry. Specifically, women comprise 19 percent of domestic international business travelers and approximately 50 percent of all domestic and international pleasure travelers. Unfortunately, as the following article points out, most of these women travelers feel they still are being discriminated against. Despite the progress in recent years, further action is necessary to eliminate the remnants of discrimination.

I would like to commend the following article on the problems of women travelers to each Member's attention:

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Jan. 30, 1983]

#### THE PROBLEMS OF WOMEN TRAVELERS

(By Carol Krukoff)

As an executive who travels nearly three weeks out of four, Gall Brewer has experienced virtually all the classic horrors that plague the solo woman traveler—restaurant seats near swinging kitchen doors, porters bypassing her in favor of men they assume will tip better, desk clerks who ignore her and address male subordinates with whom she has traveled.

But Brewer's single most upsetting travel incident occurred the night she was confronted by a hotel staffer who mistook her for a prostitute.

"I was sitting in the hotel lounge, wearing my business suit," recalls the 35-year-old native of Vienna, Va., describing a recent trip east from her Los Angeles home. "It was 11 o'clock, but I was still oriented to West Coast time, so I wasn't tired."

"I had wanted to get a good night's sleep so I'd be fresh for a marketing meeting the next day, and I'd hoped a glass of wine would make me sleepy. I'd checked in and gone to the lounge to relax after the long trip. After a few minutes, a hotel security guard came up and asked me if I was a registered hotel guest."

"I just stared at him, took a deep breath and said, 'Yes, I am.' The next day I spoke to the hotel manager."

These are the kinds of abuses Brewer has spent much of the last 18 months trying to correct. As director of specialty markets for Ramada Inns Inc., she has headed a special



program designed to attract the fastest-growing segment of the U.S. hotel market—women.

As part of the program, employees of all 580 Ramada Inns are expected to complete an "awareness training seminar," which addresses concerns of traveling women and gives suggestions on how to overcome typical slights.

"Our research showed that women don't want special services," Brewer notes. "They just want the same services, respect and courtesy accorded to male travelers."

Like Ramada, more and more members of the travel industry are designing special campaigns to attract traveling business women, whose numbers are increasing at a rate three times faster than that for men. More than 30 percent of all domestic business travelers are women, up from just one percent in 1970, according to a study by the Cornell University School of Hotel Administration.

Women make up 19 percent of all international business travelers, notes a survey conducted by Opinion Research Corp. of Princeton, N.J. and about half of all domestic and international travelers are female.

Yet despite their growing numbers, "the majority of these traveling women feel they are still being discriminated against," says Francine Herman, an associate professor of hotel administration at Cornell, who co-chaired a conference on women travelers. "We found that approximately 60 percent of the women we talked to used their hotel rooms to eat in, as contrasted to a very small number—10 to 15 percent—of men."

"The men used room service when they were having a meeting and didn't want to break to eat. But the women were using it to avoid the hassles that face single women travelers. Basically, they hid."

Food and beverage service account for most of the problems women report, Herman says. Although studies show that businesswomen are the best weekday restaurant tippers—leaving the server 20 to 22 percent compared to 10 to 15 percent from men—"women still get poor service," she says, "because they've got the image of being bad tippers. Women also felt they were always subject to pickups by men, sometimes with the connivance of bar staff."

#### DISAPPEARING BEDS

Some hotels now direct bartenders to ask a woman's permission before making her a drink, or before passing her a note offered by someone else in the lounge. Herman notes: "Also, some properties have put in the equivalent of captain's tables, where single travelers of either sex can choose to sit with other single travelers or sit alone."

"We're seeing more and more travel advertising geared to women. And rooms are being designed so they can be converted into studios where the bed disappears. Men have always felt perfectly OK inviting another man into their rooms, and this way women can feel comfortable with . . ."

Women traveling for pleasure experience some of the same problems as women traveling on business, says Californian Barbara Pletcher, executive director of the National Association for Professional Saleswomen and author of the women's travel guide, *Travel Sense*. "The less secure woman traveler may have even greater problems getting good service on a pleasure trip, because she's not likely to be wearing her no-nonsense navy suit. She may be more apt to let herself get pushed around if she's in jeans."

But women pleasure travelers are less likely to isolate themselves in lonely rooms, she says, "because fewer pleasure travelers go all by themselves. They're more likely to be with a friend or with family so they won't feel they have to hide and order room service. In business travel, the travel is often a necessary evil. But in pleasure travel it's part of the experience, so you want to be sociable."

#### SIGNING UP FOR CRUISES

It they are traveling solo, women often sign up for adventure travel cruises, and group tours, she says, "partly because they have the finances to swing it and partly because it assures they'll be part of a group whose interests they share. And I'm seeing more and more women going on wilderness survival trips, too, because they want to test themselves and see if they can do it."

But whether traveling for business or pleasure, safety generally heads the list of women's concerns, says Cornell's Herman. A typical problem is the tendency of desk clerks to announce a new guest's room number to the bellhop in a voice loud enough for the entire lobby to hear.

"It's a terrifying feeling to be alone in a hotel and know that some stranger knows what room you're in," says a California businesswoman. "On one trip, I'd been in my room about five minutes and the phone rang. A man's voice said, 'Hi, I was in the lobby when you checked in and wondered if you'd like to have a drink.' I wouldn't go back to that hotel again."

This kind of negative experience can hurt hotels, which thrive on recommendation, says Donna Saracco, editorial director of Solo, a 5,000-circulation newsletter for women travelers. "The industry is waking up to the enormous buying power of women travelers. In most major cities today, there are several hotels and restaurants where women can go and feel comfortable. In our newsletter we recommend places where a woman will get respect, not hassle."

#### LEARN THE CUSTOMS

Women traveling abroad often find that their treatment varies with the country, Saracco says. "When traveling on business in China, I found people extremely respectful and friendly. But you do need to learn the local customs. The one place I didn't receive a warm welcome at my hotel was in the bar. I discovered that women don't go into Chinese nightclubs alone, because they're seen as competition for the hostesses."

Women traveling in Europe generally can expect "standards of behavior equivalent to what they'd find in the United States," writes Penelope Naylor in *The Women's Guide to Business Travel*. "But in some other places in the world, women doing business and traveling on their own are more than suspect. Without a husband or a father to protect them, they're considered, like Victorian-era actresses, little better than prostitutes. This is most often true in the more conservative countries of the Mediterranean (Spain, Portugal, southern Italy, Greece), all Arab countries and most Moslem countries, a good bit of the Orient and Latin America."

Her advice: Learn the country's customs before you go there.

Sometimes, even well-meaning hotels can miss the mark in their efforts to cater to businesswomen.

"On a recent business trip a male colleague and I arrived together at a luxurious new hotel," recalls Carolyn Eldred, a re-

search psychologist with Washington's Aurora Associates Inc. "My room had an attractive color scheme—gray, green and rose—and there was an arrangement of dried flowers and a copy of *Cosmopolitan*."

"When my colleague phoned a few minutes later, I couldn't resist asking him what color his carpet was. He replied 'dark green.' He didn't have any flowers, and instead of *Cosmo* he got the *Wall Street Journal*."

As much as Eldred enjoyed the pretty carpet and flowers, she noted "I'd have traded them in a minute for the *Journal*, which I read at home every day." ●

#### TITLE OF COMMODORE IN THE U.S. NAVY

#### HON. IKE SKELTON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1983

● Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, in the recent Congress, the title of commodore was reinstated as an official Navy officer rank, equal to that of a one-star general. This was done in order to bring the ranking system of senior officers in the Navy into line with those of the rest of the branches of the military. The Navy, seemingly unable to decide within itself what the new title should be, did not object when I proposed the title commodore. My support for this title came from the long historical use of the title of commodore for this position.

This year, a few in the Navy have decided that the title commodore is not appropriate. They feel that because the title does not carry the word admiral, that proper respect is not being given to these new flag officers. My support for the title of commodore remains strong, as the historical tradition of this title shows that it has not only been a title of command, but also a title of respect.

The title of commodore has been used in the U.S. Navy since its beginning. Until 1862, there was no rank above the rank of captain in the U.S. Navy, with the exception of the commander in chief of the fleet, who was Esek Hopkins, and the senior flag officer, who was Charles Stewart. These officers, however, were addressed as commodore, as their official titles were too cumbersome for everyday use. The title of commodore was also used for captains to distinguish them when they were in charge of a squadron of ships. Although this title was not an official commissioned title, it was one which was usually retained after the command of the squadron was completed.

Many of our most famous naval heroes carried the title of commodore. Stephen Decatur, a great hero of the early Navy who won his fame during the war of 1812 and the American bombardment of Tripoli in 1804, carried the title of commodore. So did

Oliver Hazard Perry, who is best known for his famous words "We have met our enemy and they are ours," after the battle of Put-in-Bay of September 10, 1813. There was also Commodore George Dewey, Navy hero of the Spanish-American War. His decisive victory in the taking of Manila Bay in 1898 gave Americans confidence in their Navy and made the U.S. Navy a formidable force in the Pacific.

John Paul Jones, famed for his bravery and seamanship, was a commodore, and was a strong advocate of an official four-grade ranking system for flag officers. His reason for this was the same one that prompted the change in 1980, which was to bring naval ranks in line with those of the land forces. In his suggestion, he recommended the four titles that went into place in 1980, which are commodore and the three grades of admirals. His idea was not acted on, however, because the colonialists objected to the connotation of pomposity which the British had given to the word admiral.

It was not until the Navy Reorganization Act of 1862 that a four-grade ranking system for senior officers was established. This system again used the same titles put into effect in 1980 and recommended by John Paul Jones in 1776. The rank of commodore was abolished in 1899 due to the overabundance of rear admirals. The rank of commodore was reinstated in 1943 for use by convoy commanders in World War II, but was again abandoned at the end of the war.

The problems of lack of respect that are arising in the present Navy is not due to the title of commodore, but arises naturally when one replaces a two-star officer with a one-star officer, which is how the commodores are being used. I plan to continue my strong support of the title of commodore, as it seems ill-advised to replace a traditional system just so that one-star flag officers can call themselves admiral.●

#### RELIEF FOR OUR RESEARCH LIBRARIES

**HON. EDWARD J. MARKEY**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1983

● Mr. MARKEY. Mr. Speaker, appearing below is an oped piece contained in the Washington Post of February 3, 1983. The author, Father William J. Byron, is the president of Catholic University in Washington. I commend this piece to my colleagues.

Father Byron states in clear terms the future financial disaster awaiting our Nation's research libraries unless new, innovative remedies are enacted in the near term. While his 5 cent per book tax proposal may not be met

with unanimous support, it certainly serves to make us aware of the possible financial debacle confronting our Nation's libraries.

Father Byron is one of America's leading educational strategists. I urge my colleagues to carefully consider his point of view.

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 3, 1983]

A NICKEL-A-BOOK TAX?

(By William J. Byron)

A nickel a gallon for roads, bridges and mass transit. Why not a nickel a book for research libraries?

By imposing a five-cent tax on every gallon of gasoline sold, the federal government expects to generate \$5.5 billion annually for road repairs. The motorists will pay for better highways. Predictably, the trucking industry is unhappy, but all users, heavy and light, will benefit, and hundreds of thousands of repair-related jobs will be filled. Relaxed size and weight restrictions on trucks eased passage of the bill. Nickel-a-gallon is now the law of the land.

Why muse over the possibility of a nickel a book for research libraries? There is no federal library system to speak of. Such a tax would, some will certainly argue, pose a threat to freedom of the press (although the telephone excise tax seems not to impair freedom of speech). Others will ask: What is a book? Are pamphlets exempt? Will magazines be next? Isn't the tax regressive? Why raise the issue at all?

Our research libraries are in need of repair. Retrofitting for the new library technology is an even greater need. New equipment is necessary for the new information systems. Roofs, pipes, wiring, shelving, walls and climate control require attention in most old libraries, of course. Construction and reconstruction jobs are waiting to be done: jobs would be generated.

But even if all our libraries were in perfect repair, a major unmet—and often unnoticed—capital need would remain. Scholarly periodicals will soon be published electronically. Scholarly output will be stored in computer banks, not printed journals. People will use the journal and the article by going to a terminal, not a shelf. Front-end capital costs of electronic journal depositories for scholarly output will be great. So will costs of placing terminals and display screens within reach of readers and researchers across the nation.

Publishers, already uneasy at the prospect of electronic journals, cannot be expected to halt the possibility of a nickel-a-book excise tax any more than the truckers welcomed the nickel-a-gallon on gasoline. The vast majority of book buyers, however, would follow the drivers in accepting the levy without protest. Revenues produced by this tax, if spent wisely on the improvement of research libraries, would guarantee that readers will have better books to buy in the decades ahead.

A federal initiative toward the improvement of research libraries would be a welcome signal that Uncle Sam expects the nation to tip its hat, instead of tapping its head, in the direction of those who dedicate themselves to scholarly research.●

#### STAND UP FOR AMERICA

**HON. NEWT GINGRICH**

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1983

● Mr. GINGRICH. Mr. Speaker, it is with great honor that I submit this song written by Mrs. Anne Weber, a citizen of Forest Park, Ga. This song typifies the strength and courage of this country's elder citizens and recognizes the fact that they know this country is worth fighting for.

#### STAND UP

We've laid to rest that title "senior citizen." Some label we acquired at "65." And we've sounded this message Throughout our legislation That silver hair is coming back in style. The tables are turning on this generation. Our numbers are increasing every day. We've never asked for anybody's sympathy But we sure got tired of being pushed away. It's time we all joined our hands and pulled together

In single heart to voice our battle cry. In unity to God and for this country just like we did in 1945.

Some of us are handicapped and wounded. Victims of life, veterans of foreign wars. So for all of those who cannot stand and join us throughout this land. We ask you now to just stand up in your heart.

#### CHORUS

Stand up. Everybody stand up. Join in our crusade. Sing our song. We've lived through our recessions, depressions and wars. And we still think our nation's worth fighting for. We're not standing still. We're moving on.●

#### UNITED STATES-CUBA RELATIONS

**HON. LAWRENCE J. SMITH**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1983

● Mr. SMITH of Florida. Mr. Speaker, because of Florida's proximity to Cuba, my constituents are deeply concerned about the activities of Fidel Castro. On January 23, John McMullan, executive editor of the Miami Herald, complained about the administration's policy toward Castro's Cuba. I believe that my colleagues will be interested in reading his remarks.

Mr. McMullan's column follows:

[From the Miami Herald, Jan. 23, 1983]

UNITED STATES SLEEPS WHILE CASTRO ACTS  
(By John McMullan)

Victor Palmieri makes a living handling crises.

He made a reputation in the business world straightening out Penn Central, but he had considerably less success in trying to get a handle on the Cuban boatlift nearly three years ago.



Today he is revisiting the scene of that failure, South Florida, in a reflective effort to write a book that questions what U.S. policy should have been and what it should be if such situations arise again.

He is able to laugh a little now. "When President Carter gave me the assignment, I wasn't even sure where Cuba was," he remarks a little ruefully.

I don't know what Mr. Palmieri's answers will be, but his visit regenerated my own chain of thought.

Could the Mariel boatlift—that ostensibly began to reunify families but degenerated into a fiasco—happen again, from Cuba or someplace else?

The answer to me is clearly yes. As long as unprincipled despots such as Fidel Castro remain in power, as long as we have naive Presidents in the White House, we will be vulnerable.

Will the United States ever recognize that Communist Cuba is not just South Florida's problem, but affects our entire nation?

The answer to that is not until a U.S. President with a grasp of history wakes up and perceives the danger, then brings it home to the American people.

Can nothing be done about Castro?

Yes, but U.S. Presidents and Congresses must stop viewing him as an insignificant blip in the course of history whose threat will expire when he passes from power. No U.S. President yet has had the vision or the stomach to start action against Castro and finish it.

In short, illegal boatlifts, in which a Cuba can dump its unwanted onto an obliging neighbor, remain a threat because the fundamental blunders made by President Carter out of misplaced humanitarian motives are likely to be repeated by successive U.S. Presidents who haven't done their homework.

Mr. Palmieri still attempts to defend the President who called him out of the private business world and made him Coordinator of Refugee Affairs in 1979, primarily to deal with the feeding and care of nearly one million displaced Cambodians.

But the facts provide little defense. Only 16,000 Cubans had been transported to Florida to join relatives when Mr. Carter unwittingly delivered a speech on May 5, 1980, that included the unfortunate phrase: "We will continue to provide an open heart and open arms to refugees seeking freedom from Communist domination."

That was an incredible gaffe.

Already the alarms were sounding. Returning Cubans were telling of being forced to bring strangers instead of relatives back to South Florida. Evidence grew that criminals and loafers and misfits were being rounded up and sent in their stead. We in South Florida are paying the price today in unemployment, crime, and maladjustment to society of many in that avalanche of 125,000.

Both Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan have failed to exploit the one advantage that the United States had in that boatlift, and that was the opportunity to return the criminals and misfits under legitimate claims of a violation of international rules of decency and law.

Back then, out of loyalty to President Carter, Mr. Palmieri seemed to disagree with my suggestion that Castro's ruffraff be loaded on a U.S. destroyer and returned to Havana harbor. Today he concedes that Castro's infamy might have been regarded as an act of war upon which the United States justifiably could have retaliated.

In fact, it now appears, such a response was given active consideration. It was discarded because the Carter Administration was unwilling to risk possible confrontation with Russia or face condemnation as a bully.

Instead, Mr. Carter listened to warnings that there would be riots in the streets of Miami, and swallowed whatever Castro sent.

Have we as a nation become so pusillanimous that we are immobilized? Where else in the world does the larger nation abjectly accept the illegal acts of another, fearing to enforce international standards of decent conduct?

There is little reason to hope for any switch in attitude, based on the actions of Mr. Reagan thus far. Worse, recent off-the-record sessions with high officials in the U.S. State Department lead to the sad belief that the Reagan Administration has retreated from the hard line it once espoused and has accepted a live-and-let-live policy toward Cuba.

Mr. Reagan once talked tough, but now plays soft. He and his cohorts seem determined to sweat out Mr. Castro in the absurd hope that when he finally yields power, through death or assassination, Marxism in Cuba will die with him.

"What would you have us do?" queried one official who helps set U.S. policy. "Is Cuba worth a showdown with Russia? Overreaction could be worse than enduring Castro for another 20 years."

The consequences of this miscalculation become more obvious day by day.

Grenada 1979, Nicaragua 1979, Suriname 1983... the march of Marxism under Castro's banner goes on within the American hemisphere.

Rather than deal directly with the octopus itself, the United States rushes to and fro in Latin America to slash at a tentacle here and there.

If we have a policy at all, it is a no-win one. Allies such as Canada, Britain, and Japan make a sieve out of the U.S.-imposed embargo that is worse than no embargo at all.

Twenty more years of Castro mean 20 more years of creeping communism.

Will the United States wake up too late?●

## NATIONAL SALUTE TO HOSPITALIZED VETERANS

HON. BRUCE A. MORRISON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1983

● Mr. MORRISON of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take a moment to share with my colleagues a proclamation declaring February 14, 1983, "National Salute to Hospitalized Veterans." We should all be aware that this is a very significant national day of observance for veterans all around the country. Please join with me in supporting those who served us bravely in our Nation's time of need and help demonstrate Congress commitment to the health and well-being of this Nation's veterans. Providing responsible health care for our veterans is a commitment we must all uphold.

## PROCLAMATION

Whereas, many thousands of veterans of America's armed forces have served this nation in times of both peace and war, and in doing so have thereby assured the safety and prosperity of all her people as this nation enters its third century of independence; and

Whereas, more than a million veterans enter Veterans Administration medical facilities nationwide for medical attention annually; and

Whereas, the Veterans Administration, for the tenth consecutive year, has organized a national day of tribute honoring all hospitalized veterans, with the purpose of urging all Americans to remember these men and women especially on this day and throughout the year; and

Whereas, we wish to express to the patients in the West Haven Veterans Administration Medical Center our concern and sincere appreciation,

Now, therefore, I, Bruce A. Morrison, do hereby proclaim February 14, 1983, for the "National Salute to Hospitalized Veterans" and do therefore call upon all our citizens to observe the occasion in fitting ways and to pay tribute to hospitalized veterans on this day and each day of the year.●

TRIBUTE TO CHARLIE A.  
BENGEL, SR.

HON. JAMES J. FLORIO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1983

● Mr. FLORIO. Mr. Speaker, I wanted to take this opportunity to ask my colleagues to join me in commending one of my constituents, Charlie A. Bengel, Sr. Charlie has the distinction of being the "oldest active fireman in New Jersey"—an achievement which I believe merits our attention.

It is important to note that Charlie's participation is solely on a volunteer basis and is exemplary to all citizens of the importance of service to the community.

Born November 15, 1893, Charlie first joined the Goodwill Fire Company in 1918. From that beginning, he served in a number of responsible roles to his final position as captain of fire police.

Since his first initiation as a volunteer fireman, Charlie has responded to more than 6,000 fire alarms in Woodbury and surrounding communities and within the last 5 years, he has attended more than 80 percent of all fires.

Needless to say, Charlie Bengel is worthy of this tribute. He is a remarkable and dedicated man whose stamina and contributions to my constituents are greatly appreciated. I wish him many more long and healthy years.●

HAIL TO THEE, OH BUFFALO!

HON. JOHN J. LaFALCE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 14, 1983

● Mr. LaFALCE. Mr. Speaker, as a record-setting snowfall melts in the Nation's Capital, life in temperate Buffalo continues. We have been basking in moderate winter temperatures this year, free from any major snowstorms. Indeed, those who love a rugged winter have been disappointed.

The queen city of the Great Lakes has had its share of disappointments. But, communities which experience difficulties—and then resolve to fight back—have a quality that boomtowns will never know. Buffalo, for all of the scorn heaped on it by the uninformed, is alive and well.

Washingtonians, unexperienced in life's heartier things, were given a glimpse of the good life in the Sunday, February 13 edition of the Washington Post. Writer Sara Solovich is to be commended for painting a beautiful tableau of life in one of America's most vibrant cities. Hail to Thee, Oh Buffalo!

HAIL TO THEE, OH BUFFALO!

(By Sara Solovich)

"I like buffalo. The lake's polluted. The elms are blighted. The weather is Gothic. The place is full of phosphorescence of decay."—John Barth.

Hail Buffalo! City of snow, the nation does you wrong. Your houses (cheap!) have enough wainscoting to make Washingtonians climb their \$200,000 walls. Your pizzas deliver. And what pizza! Just the memory of your chicken wings, beer-battered fish fries and beef on kimmelweck makes me weep with hunger. True, your downtown looks like postwar Dresden. But you have neighborhoods where priests still hear confessions in Polish, great bars (more per capita than any other city in the country) and white Christmases.

Now I live in Washington, closeted in an apartment that would fit into my old living room, homesick as I watch a blizzard bring the capital to its knees.

People find it amusing that I once lived in Buffalo, the nation's armpit. A most beloved armpit, I tell them. Being from Buffalo is like being Polish or Jewish: You can poke fun at it yourself, but outsiders watch out. When CBS newsman Morley Safer reviled Buffalo restaurants on the air two years ago as specializing in "greasy, impenetrable eggs, burnt bacon and slow service," the mailbags at CBS headquarters overflowed with more than 2,000 outraged complaints from Buffalonians. Safer, whose boss is from Buffalo, was prodded into making a public apology—in Buffalo—where he tried to undo the damage by explaining that "Buffalo is just one of those buzzwords."

But while the rest of the country chuckles at Johnny Carson's blizzard jokes (and where do you think his suits are made? That's right.) Buffalonians have the last laugh.

I had some friends come down from New York and they were thrilled. They were able to get the books they wanted because they weren't sold out. They were able to go to all

the movies they wanted and not wait in line. Some of them are making six figures—and I live much better than they do. They're all envious of me because I live in Buffalo. See, I live in a neighborhood where I can walk around at night. Esthetically, I live like a millionaire. My house would cost half a million in Washington. So I'm not playing in Washington's philharmonic. Believe it or not, the Buffalo Philharmonic is just as good.—Monte Hoffman, cellist, Buffalo Philharmonic Orchestra and 20-year resident of Buffalo.

A millionaire businessman and philanthropist from Buffalo named Max Jacobs once told a reporter that his three favorite cities in the world are Jerusalem, New York and Buffalo—not necessarily in that order. "You think this city is nice?" An 11-year-old boy challenged every Israeli he met during his father's one-year sabbatical in Jerusalem. "You should see Buffalo."

Leaving Buffalo is one of the worst fates that can befall a Buffalonian. I know a federal train inspector, promoted to a prestigious job in New York City, who contemplated quitting before reaching a compromise: he commutes on weekends to Buffalo, much to the disbelief of his coworkers who think they live in the world's greatest city. Last year, a group of Buffalo lawyers exiled to Texas celebrated a Bills-Cowboys game with three pizzas, chicken wings and kosher corned beef all flown in from Buffalo.

"I was thinking y'all might call this story The Spirit of Buffalo Lives On. We moan for a good slice of kielbasa. They just don't know what pizza is here. Terrible stuff that tastes like cornmeal. And no one's ever heard of chicken wings as an appetizer. And you know what I miss the most? John and Mary's submarines. God, what I'd give for a good hard Italian roll and the onions and the peppers. You know how they fry it up like that?"—Larry Wolfish, lawyer, 1982.

I know, Larry. My husband and I left Buffalo last November after 3½ years—and only because the newspaper that employed us both, the Courier-Express, folded. We were devastated, but it never occurred to us that we should abandon our careers for a life in Buffalo. Friends, however, were shocked that we would leave. "You have to leave Buffalo?" one woman asked incredulously, on learning that my husband had accepted a job offer in Washington. "I am so sorry." When I told my dentist, he only grimaced and said, "Good luck, you're going to need it."

Visitors don't always see the attractions of this city. No wonder—its grain and steel mills are largely abandoned and many of the buildings on Main Street are window-smashed and inhabited by pigeons. But these visitors fail to look beyond the obvious—past the eight months of winter and the Chamber of Commerce's frenetic "Talking Proud" campaign ("Four distinct seasons! Buffalo's air is more than twice as clean as Houston's. Visitors can sample a different restaurant every night of the week for more than five years without returning to the same place.")

No matter what the chamber says, Buffalo is not a good city to visit. It is meant to be lived in.

It is a city of neighborhoods: Polish, Irish, Black, Italian. It has pockets—big ones—where the English language will get you nowhere. Turn a corner and you'll run into a Polish restaurant serving czarnina, duck blood soup. Turn another, and you'll find one of five houses designed by Frank Lloyd

Wright between 1903 and 1908. Mark Twain was once editor of The Buffalo Express, which later merged with the Courier to form my now-defunct newspaper. Though he later described that year-and-a-half as the worst in his life (his wife gave birth to a stillborn child in Buffalo), he retained enough feeling for the place to bequeath the original manuscript of "The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn" to the city's library.

Twain enjoyed rowing on Lake Erie and the Niagara River—so much so that Charles Brady, former chairman of the English Department at Canisius College in Buffalo, says, "I always had the feeling that something of Lake Erie and the Niagara got into the Mississippi of Huckleberry Finn."

The City of Buffalo has 350,000 people, 105,000 fewer than it did in 1970. It was founded in 1800 by Germans and Alsatians (who are generally held accountable for the nasal twang in the classic Buffalo accent—a Buffalonian is from "Buff-low"), incorporated as a city in 1832, and, in between, burned by the British after the Americans burned York, the capital of upper Canada.

Buffalo has sent two men to the White House—Millard Fillmore and Grover Cleveland. William McKinley was assassinated in Buffalo in 1901. It is the home of actress Katharine Cornell, who opened a new play in Buffalo whenever possible, Buffalo Bob "Howdy Doody" Smith, humorist Mark Russell and funk star Rick James, who maintains an estate in a nearby wealthy suburb.

It is also the home of the roll-top desk, the Pierce-Arrow car (America's short-lived answer to the Rolls-Royce), the air conditioner and the electric chair. The first man to be electrocuted in that chair was from Buffalo. And, in 1896, Main Street, Buffalo, became the first street in the United States to be lit with electricity.

Today, anyone with a job can live like a king in Buffalo. Less than \$60,000 buys a sturdy Victorian house with stained glass windows, a turret or two, fireplaces, butler's pantry, beamed dining room ceiling and sliding oak doors. One Washington couple was forced to buy a mansion when they moved to Buffalo last year, simply to avoid the capital gains tax from the sale of their Capitol Hill townhouse.

There are other amenities. Buffalo has one of the nation's finest modern art collections. Its philharmonic is first-rate. Delaware Park's 367.61 rolling acres were laid out by Frederick Law Olmsted, the designer of New York's Central Park and Buffalo itself was designed by Pierre de L'Enfant, the same engineer who designed Washington, D.C. The public schools' "magnet program" is fast becoming known as one of the country's most successful at creating integrated classrooms. There is a renowned cancer clinic and children's hospital. Its football fans are maniacs; the Bills draw among the largest crowds in the National Football League. When they complain about their city, Buffalonians usually point to the absence of a major league baseball team.

The weather—which is awful—desn't bother them. Only Caribou, Me., Syracuse, N.Y., Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., Muskegon, Mich., Flagstaff, Ariz., and Lander, Wyo., receive more snow than Buffalo, according to the record books. But when "Best Friends," the movie starring Goldie Hawn and Burt Reynolds, was filmed in Buffalo last February, it was baseball weather outside. The filmmakers had to rent snow-making equipment from nearby ski resorts to meet the



demands of the script. When Denver was buried under snow on Christmas Eve, it was 64 degrees in Buffalo. Did the national networks, those meticulous chroniclers of every snowflake that falls in the "Blizzard Capital," take note? Nooooo.

Buffalonians eat up the cold. Ice rinks are booked solid 20 hours a day seven days a week in winter. An inch of snow may close Washington National Airport, but Buffalonians drive through anything. Only once were they forced to walk. That was during the Blizzard of '77, when hundreds of cars were buried under 12-foot drifts and the U.S. Army banned cars from the street.

The blizzard. Buffalonians try to shrug it off. They've even commemorated it with an annual "Blizzard Ball." But the blizzard has sunk into the city's consciousness. Four-wheel drives became mighty popular after the blizzard. Some Buffalonians get testy when the word "blizzard" is mentioned.

"The blizzard? The blizzard? What about the blizzard? What about earthquakes and volcanoes out west? Why is their reputation any better than ours? This is something I don't understand. I'll tell you a story. A few years ago, there was a boy outside on the street. He walks by my house and uses the nastiest word, so I say to him, 'There's no reason to use language like that. But he says the same four-letter word to me again, so the boy on the porch next door gets up and says to him, 'Don't you talk to my aunt like that. And I'm not his aunt, I'm his neighbor. But that's Buffalo.'"—Josephine Bonda, a Buffalo resident since she arrived in Isenlo, Italy, 70 years ago, when she was 4½.

So what's the problem? You say the whole country wouldn't be laughing if Buffalo was such a hot-shot city? You can't stomach the idea that you haven't lived unless you've lived in Buffalo?

Well, Buffalo does have problems.

Big ones.

It is a city where old friends renew acquaintance on the unemployment line. Joblessness is now 15.5 percent and that doesn't include an additional 3,900 steelworkers, many of them Buffalo residents, who face permanent layoff sometime this year when Bethlehem Steel ends all steel production in nearby Lackawanna. In the last year, Mobil Oil closed its Buffalo refinery. The death of the Courier-Express put 1,100 people on the street. Two downtown department stores have closed. So have dozens of small businesses.

Soup kitchens and emergency food pantries are flourishing. One sociologist says that one of every three people in the Buffalo area is directly on public assistance or in a family with at least one major wage earner unemployed. That makes welfare the county's only growth industry.

The city is trying to turn itself around. There is about \$1 billion in new construction downtown. Half is for a subway along Main Street. The city is betting this will bring the public back to Buffalo's business district. The rest of the money is being spent on waterfront development, a new hotel and two new office buildings.

But the city is bleeding. I'll never forget a walk I took up a deserted Main Street one Saturday afternoon last year. It was a ghost town. For a mile, my only company was a pack of wild dogs.

For the first time, friends wonder if Buffalo will pull out of its slump. They are bewildered. The city has suffered one blow after another. The immediate tragedy is that thousands of people are hungry or out

of work. Over the long term, a style of life that people from the big city don't understand is threatened. For Buffalo offers balance. It has backyards. The country is 10 minutes away. One can comfortably raise a family there and still enjoy the cultural advantages of city life.

"I can walk the 1½ blocks from my office to the courthouse and say hello to 10 guys I went to school with. That has a value. You can pick up the phone and make an oral arrangement with another attorney—you don't have to have a signed sworn stipulation to do everything. If your word isn't worth something, that's very soon discovered. The courthouse is just around the corner from the BAC (Buffalo Athletic Club), so I can have a workout during lunch. The BAC is one block from the parking deck, so my little world is pretty comfortable. By the time I get out of the BAC after work, traffic is clear and I suppose the reduced stress level is worth something, too."—Bernard Brodsky, University of Buffalo law school graduate who worked in Washington, Atlanta and Hong Kong before coming home to Buffalo for the "quality of life."

Buffalo is a little big town where real estate agents can drive through familiar territory and identify each house by owner, price tag and present marriage. When my husband and I bought our house, the seller turned out to be buying his new house from our lawyer. To complete the cycle, the lawyer had just bought his new house from a woman who was bidding against us for the same house that we eventually purchased.

This, in a city of 350,000 people. But that's a typical Buffalo story.

Another: When my husband and I lost our jobs last year, my son's nursery school immediately offered him a scholarship. A scholarship for a 2-year-old! That he should have grown up in Buffalo.●

#### SENATE COMMITTEE MEETINGS

Title IV of Senate Resolution 4, agreed to by the Senate on February 4, 1977, calls for establishment of a system for a computerized schedule of all meetings and hearings of Senate committees, subcommittees, joint committees, and committees of conference. This title requires all such committees to notify the Office of the Senate Daily Digest—designated by the Rules Committee—of the time, place, and purpose of the meetings, when scheduled, and any cancellations or changes in the meetings as they occur.

As an additional procedure along with the computerization of this information, the Office of the Senate Daily Digest will prepare this information for printing in the Extensions of Remarks section of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on Monday and Wednesday of each week.

Any changes in committee scheduling will be indicated by placement of an asterisk to the left of the name of the unit conducting such meetings.

Meetings scheduled for Tuesday, February 15, 1983, may be found in the Daily Digest of today's RECORD.

#### MEETINGS SCHEDULED

##### FEBRUARY 16

9:00 a.m.

Environment and Public Works  
Toxic Substances and Environmental Oversight Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on the impact of the Environmental Protection Agency's budget on State and local programs.

SD-406

9:30 a.m.

Appropriations  
To continue hearings on the status of the national economy.

SD-192

Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs

To hold oversight hearings on the Federal Reserve System's first monetary policy report for 1983.

SD-538

Commerce, Science, and Transportation  
Communications Subcommittee

To hold hearings on S. 66, to create a jurisdictional framework to apportion the authority regulating cable systems between the Federal and State governments, and to provide for a competitive marketplace for cable systems in the telecommunications industry.

SR-253

Finance

To continue hearings on recommendations of the National Commission of Social Security Reform.

SD-215

Labor and Human Resources

Business meeting, to consider its subcommittee assignments, committee's rules of procedure for the 98th Congress, and the nomination of Donald L. Dotson, of Pennsylvania, to be a member of the National Labor Relations Board.

SD-430

Rules and Administration

To continue hearings on committee resolutions requesting funds for operating expenses for 1983.

SR-301

10:00 a.m.

Budget

To continue hearings in preparation for reporting the first concurrent resolution on the fiscal year 1984 congressional budget.

SD-608

Judiciary

To resume oversight hearings on organized crime in the United States.

SD-106

Veterans' Affairs

To hold hearings to review those items in the President's budget for fiscal year 1984 which fall within its legislative jurisdiction, and to consider recommendations which it will make thereon to the Budget Committee, receiving testimony from officials of the Veterans' Administration.

SR-418

Joint Economic

To continue hearings in preparation of its forthcoming annual report.

2325 Rayburn Building

10:30 a.m.

Energy and Natural Resources

Business meeting, on pending calendar business.

SD-366

11:00 a.m.

## Foreign Relations

Business meeting, to consider the nominations of Kenneth L. Adelman, of Virginia, to be Director, and Manfred Elmer, of Maryland, to be an Assistant Director, both of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

SD-419

2:00 p.m.

## Appropriations

Energy and Water Development Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for energy and water development programs.

SD-192

## Armed Services

To meet in closed session to receive a worldwide intelligence briefing from officials of the Central Intelligence Agency.

S-407, Capitol

## Budget

To continue hearings in preparation for reporting the first concurrent resolution on the fiscal year 1984 congressional budget.

SD-608

## FEBRUARY 17

8:30 a.m.

## Appropriations

Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Department of Labor.

SD-192

9:30 a.m.

Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs International Finance and Monetary Policy Subcommittee

To resume oversight hearings on the status of the international debt.

SD-538

Commerce, Science, and Transportation Communications Subcommittee

To continue hearings on S. 66, to create a jurisdictional framework to apportion the authority regulating cable systems between the Federal and State governments, and to provide for a competitive marketplace for cable systems in the telecommunications industry.

SR-253

## Finance

## Health Subcommittee

To continue hearings on a proposal to develop a medicare prospective payment system for hospitals, skilled nursing facilities, and other providers.

SD-215

## Rules and Administration

To continue hearings on committee resolutions requesting funds for operating expenses for 1983.

SR-301

10:00 a.m.

## Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry

To hold hearings on S. 251, to provide for fair trade practices in the agricultural market, and to encourage and expand the export volume and value of agricultural commodities and products, and other related measures.

SD-628

## Appropriations

HUD-Independent Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the

American Battle Monuments Commission, Army cemetery expenses, and the Selective Service System.

SD-124

## Appropriations

Transportation and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Department of Transportation.

SD-138

## Budget

To continue hearings in preparation for reporting the first concurrent resolution on the fiscal year 1984 congressional budget.

SD-608

## Energy and Natural Resources

Public Lands and Reserved Water Subcommittee

To hold hearings on S. 96, to establish the Lee Metcalf Wilderness and Management Area in the State of Montana.

SD-366

## Environment and Public Works

To resume hearings to review those items in the President's budget for fiscal year 1984 which fall within its legislative jurisdiction, and to consider recommendations which it will make thereon to the Budget Committee.

SD-406

## Foreign Relations

To hold hearings on proposed legislation authorizing funds for fiscal years 1983 and 1984 for the international security assistance program.

SD-419

11:00 a.m.

## Judiciary

Business meeting, to consider pending calendar business.

SD-226

1:30 p.m.

Commerce, Science, and Transportation Surface Transportation Subcommittee

To hold hearings on automobile safety, focusing on the durability of car bumpers.

SR-253

## Finance

## Health Subcommittee

To continue hearings on a proposal to develop a medicare prospective payment system for hospitals, skilled nursing facilities, and other providers.

SD-215

2:00 p.m.

## Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry

To continue hearings on S. 251, to provide for fair trade practices in the agricultural market, and to encourage and expand the export volume and value of agricultural commodities and products, and other related measures.

SD-628

## Small Business

To hold hearings on proposed legislation to require the usage of tax-exempt financing in connection with the Small Business Administration's section 503 certified development companies program.

SR-428A

## Select on Intelligence

To hold closed hearings on intelligence matters.

S-407, Capitol

## FEBRUARY 18

9:00 a.m.

## Energy and Natural Resources

To hold oversight hearings, in closed session, on the world petroleum outlook for 1983.

S-407, Capitol

9:30 a.m.

## Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs

To resume oversight hearings on the Federal Reserve System's first monetary policy report for 1983.

SD-538

10:00 a.m.

## Budget

To continue hearings in preparation for reporting the first concurrent resolution on the fiscal year 1984 congressional budget.

SD-608

## Finance

To hold hearings on unemployment issues.

SD-215

## Judiciary

## Security and Terrorism Subcommittee

To hold hearings on the U.S. Attorney General's new domestic security investigating guidelines.

SD-226

2:00 p.m.

## Budget

To continue hearings in preparation for reporting the first concurrent resolution on the fiscal year 1984 congressional budget.

SD-608

## FEBRUARY 21

10:00 a.m.

## Energy and Natural Resources

To resume oversight hearings on the world petroleum outlook for 1983.

SD-366

## FEBRUARY 22

9:00 a.m.

## Labor and Human Resources

Employment and Productivity Subcommittee

To resume hearings on S. 242, authorizing funds for fiscal year 1983 to provide additional employment opportunities in existing Federal or federally assisted labor intensive programs, to provide incentives for employers to hire the long-term unemployed, and to expand retraining opportunities for dislocated workers.

SD-430

9:30 a.m.

## Appropriations

To resume hearings on the status of the national economy.

SD-192

## Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs

To resume oversight hearings on the Federal Reserve System's first monetary policy report for 1983.

SD-538

Commerce, Science, and Transportation Science, Technology, and Space Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed authorizations for fiscal year 1984 for the National Bureau of Standards, Department of Commerce, and the U.S. Fire Administration, Federal Emergency Management Agency.

SR-253



## Rules and Administration

Business meeting, to consider committee resolutions requesting funds for operating expenses for 1983, and proposed regulations for Senate mass mailings.

SR-301

10:00 a.m.

## Environment and Public Works

Business meeting, to consider those matters and programs in the President's budget for fiscal year 1984 which fall within the committee's jurisdiction, with a view toward submitting its views and budgetary recommendations to the Committee on the Budget.

SD-406

## Finance

To resume hearings on recommendations of the National Commission on Social Security Reform.

SD-215

2:00 p.m.

## Appropriations

## Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for Indian programs.

SD-138

## Appropriations

## Energy and Water Development Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for energy and water development programs.

SD-192

## Appropriations

## Transportation and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority, and the Research and Special Programs Administration of the Department of Transportation.

SD-116

## Environment and Public Works

Business meeting, to continue to consider those matters and programs in the President's budget for fiscal year 1984 which fall within the committee's jurisdiction, with a view toward submitting its views and budgetary recommendations to the Committee on the Budget.

SD-406

## Governmental Affairs

To hold hearings on the nominations of Barbara J. Mahone, of New York, to be a member, and John C. Miller, of Ohio, to be General Counsel, both of the Federal Labor Relations Authority.

SD-342

## FEBRUARY 23

9:00 a.m.

## \*Labor and Human Resources

## Employment and Productivity Subcommittee

To continue hearings on S. 242, authorizing funds for fiscal year 1983 to provide additional employment opportunities in existing Federal or federally assisted labor intensive programs, to provide incentives for employers to hire the long-term unemployed, and to expand retraining opportunities for dislocated workers.

SD-628

10:00 a.m.

## Energy and Natural Resources

Business meeting, on pending calendar business.

SD-366

## Finance

To continue hearings on recommendations of the National Commission on Social Security reform.

SD-215

## Governmental Affairs

## Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations

To resume hearings to examine the nature of organized crime as it exists today in the Mid-Atlantic region of the United States.

SD-342

## Labor and Human Resources

## Education, Arts, and Humanities Subcommittee

To hold oversight hearings on the implementation of vocational education programs.

SD-430

2:00 p.m.

## Appropriations

## Energy and Water Development Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for energy and water development programs.

SD-192

## FEBRUARY 24

9:30 a.m.

## Governmental Affairs

## Oversight of Government Management Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed legislation authorizing funds through fiscal year 1988 for the Office of Government Ethics, Office of Personnel Management, and to review the financial disclosure provisions of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978.

SD-562

## Judiciary

## Juvenile Justice Subcommittee

To hold hearings on the reauthorization of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act (P.L. 93-415).

SD-226

## Labor and Human Resources

## Handicapped Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed legislation authorizing funds for programs of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973.

SR-428A

10:00 a.m.

## Appropriations

## HUD-Independent Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Office of Consumer Affairs, Consumer Information Center, and the Consumer Product Safety Commission.

SD-124

## Appropriations

## Transportation and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, Department of Transportation.

SD-138

## Energy and Natural Resources

## Energy and Mineral Resources Subcommittee

To hold oversight hearings on the status of the Abandoned Mine Land Fund, Department of the Interior.

SD-366

## Finance

To continue hearings on recommendations of the National Commission on Social Security Reform.

SD-215

## Governmental Affairs

## Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations

To continue hearings to examine the nature of organized crime as it exists today in the Mid-Atlantic region of the United States.

SD-342

## Labor and Human Resources

## Education, Arts, and Humanities Subcommittee

To continue oversight hearings on the implementation of vocational education programs.

SD-430

2:00 p.m.

## Appropriations

## Agriculture, Rural Development and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings to review the general agricultural outlook, and the overall budget for the Department of Agriculture.

SD-138

## Appropriations

## Energy and Water Development Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for energy and water development programs, focusing on the Power Marketing Administrations.

SD-192

## Select on Ethics

To hold a general business meeting.

S-126, Capitol

## FEBRUARY 25

8:30 a.m.

## Finance

## Taxation and Debt Management Subcommittee

To hold hearings on S. 70, to delete certain IRS provisions which treat Members of Congress separately with respect to living expense deductions.

SD-215

9:30 a.m.

## Appropriations

## Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To resume hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for Indian programs.

SD-192

## Commerce, Science, and Transportation

## Consumer Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed legislation authorizing funds for fiscal year 1984 for the Consumer Product Safety Commission.

SR-253

2:00 p.m.

## Select on Intelligence

Closed briefing on intelligence matters.

S-407, Capitol

9:00 a.m.

Commerce, Science, and Transportation  
To hold hearings on proposed legislation authorizing funds for fiscal year 1984 for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Department of Commerce, focusing on ocean and coastal programs.

SR-253

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations  
Foreign Operations Subcommittee  
To hold hearings to review foreign assistance programs of the Department of State.

SD-192

1:30 p.m.

Commerce, Science, and Transportation  
Aviation Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed legislation authorizing funds for fiscal year 1984 for the National Transportation Safety Board, and to review the budget of the Civil Aeronautics Board.

SR-253

## MARCH 1

9:30 a.m.

Appropriations  
Agriculture, Rural Development, and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Agricultural Cooperative Service, Agricultural Marketing Service, Office of Transportation, and the Packers and Stockyards Administration, Department of Agriculture.

SD-124

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations  
Foreign Operations Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for certain programs of the Department of State, focusing on international security assistance, international narcotics control, migration and refugee assistance, and antiterrorism.

S-126, Capitol

Appropriations  
Transportation and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the National Transportation Safety Board.

SD-138

Environment and Public Works  
Environmental Pollution Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on S. 431, authorizing funds for fiscal years 1983 through 1987 for clean water programs, and S. 432, extending the 1984 compliance date for certain requirements of the Clean Water Act.

SD-406

10:30 a.m.

Veterans' Affairs  
To hold hearings to receive legislative recommendations for fiscal year 1984 from the Paralyzed Veterans of America, Military Order of the Purple Heart, and World War I Veterans.

SR-325

2:00 p.m.

Appropriations  
Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Bureau of Mines of the Department of

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

the Interior and the National Gallery of Art.

SD-138

Appropriations  
Energy and Water Development Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for energy and water development programs of the Department of Energy, focusing on nuclear fission and uranium supply and enrichment.

SD-192

## MARCH 2

8:30 a.m.

Appropriations  
Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Department of the Interior and related agencies.

SD-138

10:00 a.m.

Environment and Public Works  
Environmental Pollution Subcommittee  
To continue hearings on S. 431, authorizing funds for fiscal years 1983 through 1987 for clean water programs, and S. 432, extending the 1984 compliance date for certain requirements of the Clean Water Act.

SD-406

Labor and Human Resources  
Education, Arts, and Humanities Subcommittee  
To resume oversight hearings on the implementation of vocational education programs.

SD-430

Veterans' Affairs  
Business meeting, to consider those items in the President's budget for fiscal year 1984 which fall within its legislative jurisdiction, and recommendations which it will make thereon to the Committee on the Budget.

SR-418

2:00 p.m.

Appropriations  
Foreign Operations Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Peace Corps, and the Inter-American Foundation.

S-126, Capitol

Appropriations  
Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To continue hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Department of the Interior and related agencies.

SD-138

## MARCH 3

9:30 a.m.

Appropriations  
Agriculture, Rural Development and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service, Food Safety and Inspection Service, and the Federal Grain Inspection Service, Department of Agriculture.

SD-124

Governmental Affairs  
Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee  
To hold oversight hearings on the Office of Management and Budget's Circular

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A-95, focusing on Federal planning requirements for Federal grant programs.

SD-342

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations  
Foreign Operations Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for certain programs of the Agency for International Development.

S-126, Capitol

Appropriations  
Transportation and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the U.S. Coast Guard, Department of Transportation.

SD-138

Environment and Public Works  
Environmental Pollution Subcommittee  
To continue hearings on S. 431, authorizing funds for fiscal years 1983 through 1987 for clean water programs, and S. 432, extending the 1984 compliance date for certain requirements of the Clean Water Act.

SD-406

Judiciary  
Agency Administration Subcommittee  
To hold oversight hearings on the indemnification of and contributions to Government contractors.

SD-562

Labor and Human Resources  
Education, Arts, and Humanities Subcommittee  
To continue oversight hearings on the implementation of vocational education programs.

SD-430

2:00 p.m.

Appropriations  
Foreign Operations Subcommittee  
To continue hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for certain programs of the Agency for International Development.

S-126, Capitol

Appropriations  
Energy and Water Development Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for energy and water development programs of the Department of Energy.

SD-192

## MARCH 4

9:00 a.m.

Appropriations  
Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Economic Regulatory Administration, Energy Information Administration, and the Office of Hearings and Appeals, all of the Department of Energy.

SD-192

## MARCH 7

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations  
Foreign Operations Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the U.S. Representative to the United Nations, and voluntary contributions to



international organizations and programs of the United Nations.

SD-192

### MARCH 8

10:00 a.m.

#### Appropriations

##### Foreign Operations Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Export-Import Bank of the United States.

SD-192

#### Appropriations

##### Transportation and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the U.S. Railway Association, and Conrail.

SD-138

#### Energy and Natural Resources

##### Energy Conservation and Supply Subcommittee

To hold oversight hearings to review those items in the President's budget for fiscal year 1984 which fall within its legislative jurisdiction.

SD-366

#### \*Labor and Human Resources

##### Education, Arts, and Humanities Subcommittee

To hold hearings on the proposed Education for Economic Security Act, and to review math and science education programs in elementary and secondary schools.

SD-430

11:30 a.m.

#### Veterans' Affairs

To hold hearings to receive legislative recommendations for fiscal year 1984 from the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

SR-325

2:00 p.m.

#### Appropriations

##### Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Holocaust Memorial Council, and the National Endowment for the Arts.

SD-192

#### Appropriations

##### Energy and Water Development Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for energy and water development programs of the Department of Energy.

SD-192

### MARCH 9

10:00 a.m.

#### Appropriations

##### Foreign Operations Subcommittee

To hold hearings to review the current status of the multilateral development banks of the Department of the Treasury.

SD-192

#### Appropriations

##### Transportation and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Architectural and Transportation Barriers Compliance Board, and the Office of the Inspector General and the Office of the Secretary, Department of Transportation.

SD-138

#### \*Labor and Human Resources

##### Education, Arts, and Humanities Subcommittee

To continue hearings on the proposed Education for Economic Security Act, and to review math and science education programs in elementary and secondary schools.

SD-430

#### Veterans' Affairs

To hold hearings on proposed legislation providing for veterans' health care services.

SR-418

2:00 p.m.

#### Appropriations

##### Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior.

SD-192

### MARCH 10

9:00 a.m.

#### Commerce, Science, and Transportation

To resume hearings on proposed legislation authorizing funds for fiscal year 1984 for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Department of Commerce, focusing on fisheries programs.

SR-253

9:30 a.m.

#### Labor and Human Resources

##### Labor Subcommittee

To hold hearings on the current health and future prospects of defined benefit pension plans under the Employee Retirement Income Security Act.

SD-430

10:00 a.m.

#### Appropriations

##### Foreign Operations Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for certain programs under the subcommittee's jurisdiction.

S-126, Capitol

#### Appropriations

##### HUD-Independent Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Veterans' Administration.

SD-124

#### Labor and Human Resources

##### Alcoholism and Drug Abuse Subcommittee

To hold hearings on problems occurring from the manufacture and distribution of imitation controlled substances, known as look-alike drugs.

SD-628

2:00 p.m.

#### Appropriations

##### Foreign Operations Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for certain programs under the subcommittee's jurisdiction.

S-126, Capitol

#### Appropriations

##### Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Geological Survey of the Department of the Interior.

SD-192

#### Appropriations

##### Energy and Water Development Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for energy and water development programs, focusing on the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

SD-192

### MARCH 14

9:00 a.m.

#### Commerce, Science, and Transportation

To resume hearings on proposed legislation authorizing funds for fiscal year 1984 for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Department of Commerce, focusing on weather and satellite programs.

SR-253

### MARCH 15

9:30 a.m.

#### Appropriations

##### Agriculture, Rural Development and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Soil Conservation Service, and the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, Department of Agriculture.

SD-124

#### Labor and Human Resources

##### Labor Subcommittee

To hold hearings on S. 336, to revise prohibitions against persons guilty of criminal offenses holding specified offices or positions, and clarifying the jurisdiction of the Department of Labor relating to the detection of an investigation of criminal violations relating to ERISA.

SD-430

10:00 a.m.

#### Appropriations

##### Transportation and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Interstate Commerce Commission.

SD-138

10:30 a.m.

#### Appropriations

##### Agriculture, Rural Development and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Commodity Credit Corporation, Foreign Agricultural Service (including P.L. 480), Office of International Cooperation and Development, Department of Agriculture.

SD-124

2:00 p.m.

#### Appropriations

##### Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Department of the Interior, and the Department of Energy.

SD-138

#### Appropriations

##### Energy and Water Development Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for energy and water development programs of the Department of Energy.

SD-192

## MARCH 16

- 10:00 a.m.  
Appropriations  
Transportation and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Civil Aeronautics Board.  
SD-138
- \*Labor and Human Resources  
Education, Arts, and Humanities Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed legislation establishing a U.S. Academy of Peace.  
SD-430
- Veterans' Affairs  
To hold hearings on proposed legislation providing educational assistance for certain members of the Armed Forces.  
SR-418

- 2:00 p.m.  
Appropriations  
Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the National Capital Planning Commission, and the Navajo and Hopi Indian Relocation Commission.  
SD-192

## MARCH 17

- 9:30 a.m.  
Appropriations  
Agriculture, Rural Development and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Agricultural Research Service, Cooperative State Research Service, Extension Service, and the National Agriculture Library, Department of Agriculture.  
SD-124
- 10:00 a.m.  
Appropriations  
Transportation and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Federal Railroad Administration of the Department of Transportation, and the National Railroad Passenger Corporation (AMTRAK).  
SD-138
- 10:30 a.m.  
Veterans' Affairs  
To hold hearings to receive legislative recommendations for fiscal year 1984 from AMVETS and the Blinded Veterans Association.  
SD-628

- 2:00 p.m.  
Appropriations  
Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Office of Surface Mining of the Department of the Interior, and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation.  
SD-192

- Appropriations  
Energy and Water Development Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for energy and water development programs of the Department of Energy, focusing on atomic energy defense activities.  
SD-192

## MARCH 21

- 2:00 p.m.  
Appropriations  
Energy and Water Development Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for energy and water development programs, focusing on the Appalachian Regional Commission and the Tennessee Valley Authority.  
SD-192

## MARCH 22

- 9:30 a.m.  
Appropriations  
Agriculture, Rural Development, and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Economic Research Service, Statistical Research Service, and the World Agricultural Outlook Board, Department of Agriculture.  
SD-124
- 10:00 a.m.  
Appropriations  
Transportation and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Federal Highway Administration, Department of Transportation.  
SD-138

- Labor and Human Resources  
Aging, Family, and Human Services Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on the broken family, focusing on its effects on children.  
SD-430

- 2:00 p.m.  
Appropriations  
Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Bureau of Land Management of the Department of the Interior.  
SD-138

## MARCH 23

- 9:30 a.m.  
Labor and Human Resources  
Handicapped Subcommittee  
To resume hearings on proposed legislation authorizing funds for the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the Education of the Handicapped Act.  
SD-430

- 10:00 a.m.  
Appropriations  
Transportation and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Panama Canal Commission, and the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation of the Department of Transportation.  
SD-138

- Labor and Human Resources  
Aging, Family, and Human Services Subcommittee  
To continue hearings on the broken family, focusing on its effects on adults.  
SD-538

- Veterans' Affairs  
To hold oversight hearings to review the status of construction of certain veterans facilities.  
SR-418

- 2:00 p.m.  
Appropriations  
Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation and the Smithsonian Institution.  
SD-138

- Appropriations  
Energy and Water Development Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for energy and water development programs.  
SD-192

## MARCH 24

- 9:30 a.m.  
Appropriations  
Agriculture, Rural Development, and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Office of Governmental and Public Affairs, Office of the General Counsel, Office of the Inspector General, Office of the Secretary, and departmental administration, Department of Agriculture.  
SD-138

- 10:00 a.m.  
Appropriations  
HUD-Independent Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Office of Science and Technology Policy and the Council on Environmental Quality.  
SD-124

- 2:00 p.m.  
Appropriations  
Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for energy conservation programs of the Department of Energy.  
SD-138

- Appropriations  
Energy and Water Development Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for energy and water development programs.  
SD-192

## APRIL 5

- 9:30 a.m.  
Appropriations  
Agriculture, Rural Development and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Food and Nutrition Service, and the Human Nutrition Information Service, Department of Agriculture.  
SD-138

- 2:00 p.m.  
Appropriations  
Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Minerals Management Service, and the Institute of Museum Services.  
SD-138



Appropriations  
Energy and Water Development Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for energy and water development programs.

SD-192

## APRIL 6

2:00 p.m.

Appropriations  
Energy and Water Development Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for energy and water development programs.

SD-192

## APRIL 7

9:30 p.m.

Appropriations  
Agriculture, Rural Development and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Farmers Home Administration, Federal Crop Insurance Corporation, Office of Rural Development Policy, and the Rural Electrification Administration, Department of Agriculture.

SD-138

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations  
HUD-Independent Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Environmental Protection Agency.

SD-124

2:00 p.m.

Appropriations  
Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Forest Service of the Department of Agriculture.

SD-138

Appropriations  
Energy and Water Development Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for energy and water development programs.

SD-192

## APRIL 12

9:30 a.m.

Appropriations  
Agriculture, Rural Development and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for certain programs of the Food and Drug Administration, Department of Health and Human Services, the Farm Credit Administration, and the Commodity Futures Trading Commission.

SD-138

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations  
Transportation and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation.

SD-192

2:00 p.m.

Appropriations  
Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the

Bureau of Indian Affairs of the Department of the Interior.

SD-192

## APRIL 13

10:00

Labor and Human Resources  
Education, Arts, and Humanities Subcommittee

To resume oversight hearings on the implementation of vocational education programs.

SD-430

2:00 p.m.

Appropriations  
Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To continue hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Bureau of Indian Affairs of the Department of the Interior.

SD-192

## APRIL 14

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations  
HUD-Independent Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the National Science Foundation.

SD-124

Appropriations  
Transportation and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Urban Mass Transportation Administration, Department of Transportation.

SD-192

Labor and Human Resources  
Aging, Family and Human Services Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed legislation authorizing funds for adoption services.

SD-628

Labor and Human Resources  
Education, Arts, and Humanities Subcommittee

To continue oversight hearings on the implementation of vocational education programs.

SD-430

2:00 p.m.

Appropriations  
Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the Office of Federal Inspector, Alaska Natural Gas Transportation System.

SD-192

## APRIL 19

9:00 a.m.

Appropriations  
Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Indian Health Service of the Department of Health and Human Services, and the Office of Indian Education.

SD-192

## APRIL 20

10:00 a.m.

Labor and Human Resources  
Education, Arts, and Humanities Subcommittee

To hold oversight hearings on the implementation of bilingual education programs by the Department of Education.

SD-430

Veterans' Affairs

Business meeting, to consider proposed legislation providing for certain veterans' health care services, and proposed legislation providing educational assistance for certain members of the Armed Forces.

SR-418

2:00 p.m.

Appropriations  
Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for fossil energy research and development programs of the Department of Energy.

SD-192

## APRIL 21

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations  
HUD-Independent Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

SD-124

Labor and Human Resources

Aging, Family and Human Services Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed legislation authorizing funds for child abuse prevention and treatment programs.

SD-628

Labor and Human Resources

Education, Arts, and Humanities Subcommittee

To continue oversight hearings on the implementation of bilingual education programs by the Department of Education.

SD-430

2:00 p.m.

Appropriations  
Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of the Interior.

SD-192

## APRIL 25

2:00 p.m.

Appropriations  
Transportation and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for transportation related programs.

SD-192

## APRIL 26

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations  
Transportation and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To continue hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for transportation related programs.

SD-124

2:00 p.m.

Appropriations  
Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Department of the Interior.

SD-138

APRIL 27

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations  
Transportation and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To continue hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for transportation related programs.

SD-192

Veterans' Affairs

To hold oversight hearings to review adverse health effects from exposure to radiation, and other related matters.

SR-418

2:00 p.m.

Appropriations  
Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the land and water conservation fund.

SD-192

APRIL 28

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations  
HUD-Independent Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Federal Emergency Management Agency, and the Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation.

SD-124

2:00 p.m.

Appropriations  
Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, and the Naval Petroleum Reserves, Department of Energy.

SD-138

9:00 a.m.

Appropriations  
Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for territorial affairs.

SD-138

2:00 p.m.

Appropriations  
Interior and Related Agencies Subcommittee  
To continue hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for territorial affairs.

SD-138

MAY 5

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations  
HUD-Independent Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Office of Revenue Sharing (New York City loan program), Federal Home Loan Bank Board, and the National Credit Union Administration.

SD-124

MAY 12

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations  
HUD-Independent Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

SD-124

MAY 18

10:00 a.m.

Veterans Affairs  
To hold oversight hearings to review adverse health effects from exposure to agent orange, and other related matters.

SR-418

MAY 23

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations  
HUD-Independent Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for certain

programs under the subcommittee's jurisdiction.

SD-124

MAY 24

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations  
HUD-Independent Agencies Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1984 for certain programs under the subcommittee's jurisdiction.

SD-124

JUNE 8

10:00 a.m.

Veterans Affairs  
To hold hearings on proposed legislation providing for certain veterans' compensation.

SR-418

JUNE 22

10:00 a.m.

Veterans Affairs  
To hold oversight hearings on certain health care services for veterans.

SR-418

JUNE 29

10:00 a.m.

Veterans Affairs  
Business meeting, to consider proposed legislation providing for certain veterans' compensation.

SR-418

JULY 13

10:00 a.m.

Veterans Affairs  
To hold oversight hearings to review certain health care and other services provided Vietnam veterans.

SR-418

JULY 20

10:00 a.m.

Veterans Affairs  
To hold oversight hearings on the role of management in implementing automated data processing systems at multiple VA hospital sites.

SR-418